

# **MARAE**

**A whakapapa of the Maori marae**

**Adrian John Te Piki Kotuku Bennett**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
the University of Canterbury**



## Acknowledgements

Ka tangi te titi  
Ka tangi te kaka  
Ka tangi hoki ko ahau  
Tihei Mauri Ora!

Although there are so many, many people to thank for their often tireless help, first of all I would like to thank Carolyn Barry for the endless patience she showed, for her understanding and her support on what has proven to be a more difficult process than I had ever originally expected.

My chief supervisor, Professor Howard McNaughton deserves special accolades for putting up with the difficulties I no doubt presented as a supervisee and for his indefatigable editing. I would also like to thank my secondary supervisor, the ever accomplished Dr Deidre Brown for her valuable input and suggestions.

Over time I have been the privileged recipient of several awards and scholarships without which, much of my research may not have been possible, and certainly need to thank a number of people who have helped. I would like to thank all the members of staff at the University of Canterbury Scholarships office, without the support of which I might never have actually completed this task. I would like to thank all the Fulbright New Zealand staff for their help and support before and during my Fulbright exchange year in the United States, especially Jenny Gill, the former Executive Director. In the United States, I would particularly like to thank my supervisor Dr Jeff Collmann, Ambassador Richard Teare – former Director of the Center for Australia and New Zealand Studies at Georgetown University and Grace Tompkins for making my time in the US so much easier.

I would like to extend my gratitude to the Board of the Ngati Whakaue Trust for taking an interest in my research, and the Board of the Te Maori Taonga Trust for also believing in the importance of my work to all Maori. I am also very grateful to the BRCSS for their assistance in the final months of my PhD, and to Professor Richard Bedford for his help during the process. I would also like to extend my appreciation to Dr Peter Murphy, Dr Brian Harmer, Professor Lalita Rajasingham and the late Dr Ken Harris for their kind words when I needed them.

During my research I have had the pleasure to meet a huge number of people and have found that museums in particular have bent over backwards to provide assistance, or to offer access to their collections. Thus I would like to thank, Professor Roger Neich at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Dr John Terrell at the Field Museum in Chicago, Dr Michael Gunn at the St Louis Art Museum, Dr Adrienne Kaeppler at the Smithsonian Institute, Washington DC, the patient staff at the British Museum, Dr Ingrid Heerman and Ulrich Menter at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Roger

Fyfe at the Canterbury Museum and the many others who have helped me in the many other institutions I have visited over the past few years.

Finally, special thanks to my three examiners, Dr Michael Gunn, Dr Karen Stevenson and Dr Amiria Salmond, for their time and for their valuable insights into the many ways my original thesis might be improved, the clear result being a better work certainly than it had been.

At the same time I must thank all the people I have come in contact with, during the course of visits to many marae, throughout New Zealand. All your help has been a boon to my research, in more ways than I can count.

Ui mai koe ki ahau he aha te mea nui o te Ao, maku e ki atu: he tangata, he tangata, he tangata!

Ask me what is the greatest thing in the World, I will say to you: it is the people, it is the people, it is the people!



## Abstract:

### A whakapapa of the marae

Whakapapa, a Maori word, is often abstracted to the English language as the word genealogy. Whakapapa however has a more subtle and comprehensive meaning in Maori. In that language it has complex connotations of genealogical lines, yes, but also the history of the people involved and perhaps most importantly, the inter-relationships between those people. Degrees of consanguinity are all important when establishing relationships within Te Ao Maori – the Maori world.

Marae, the basis of this thesis, is another Maori word. A marae, at its simplest, might be referred to as an agglomeration of separated, functional buildings on an area of reserved land, usually deemed to be sacral to some extent. Maraе have an ancient history both in New Zealand Maori culture, but really originating at least in part, in the older cultures from which our Maori culture was eventually derived, from other, earlier settled, Pacific Islands.

This thesis then is a genealogy, a sort of cultural history of marae, but is based on the idea and Maori sense of the whakapapa and so partakes of the nuances involved. It is these additional complexities that are referred to by the use of the word whakapapa in the title of this thesis. This thesis investigates the lineage of the marae, tracing it back to legendary roots, but it also examines the relationships between the components of the marae and also the place the marae has established within Maori (and other) communities.

Beyond the historical forms of the marae that this thesis investigates are the other aspects that delineate what a marae really is. It is not simply a group of buildings at all, although this is a common non-Maori understanding of its disposition. A marae is a tapu or sacred space, and within or nearby that space are buildings whose form, function and meaning have only come to their present conjunction in (written) historic times. What *makes* the marae is the combination of the people and the ritual that is involved on a marae, the marae space and lastly, the physical buildings. The buildings, particularly carved houses, have additional meaning that they lend to the thread of the story. They themselves represent the whakapapa of the marae, and specifically of the hapu (or sub-tribe) who inhabit that marae. They do this by direct representation, but also by analogy and by spiritual means that are little dealt with in most literature. Ancestors in Te Ao Maori are deemed to exist within the very fabric of the building and have a renewed or continuing existence that is created in the first instance by a melange of ritual and belief.

This thesis discusses both the usage of ritual to create such physical interjacence, utilised in modern times within whare (houses), and the continued use of regular ritual on marae for human functions. It is only together that a complete modern marae is created. With any of these elements missing the marae form is truncated or lessened and diminished in some ways. So, marae which have been recreated in preserved forms, such as those in museums, are discussed at length in this thesis, by contrast with marae in regular usage for ‘traditional’ purposes.

In essence then, this is an investigation of the marae, but in terms, manners and ways, which have not always been fully or comprehensively dealt with before.

# Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Abstract:</b>	<b>5</b>
A whakapapa of the marae	5
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Chapter One:</b>	
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>9</b>
Tihei mauri ora – In the beginning; AN OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS: Peopling the Pacific; The marae in New Zealand; Whakairo – carving; Nga marae – marae (plural); Te marae – the marae; A whakapapa of Maori marae; The end of the beginning	
<b>Chapter Two:</b>	
<b><i>Te Whare Whakaohonga – The Awakening House</i></b>	<b>33</b>
Introduction; THE HOUSE IN MYTH AND LEGEND: Maui fishes land out of the ocean; The origin of carving; TANGATA WHENUA: Strangers in a strange land; Transitions - the archaeology of Te Ao Maori; Forming the pa; Reforming the waka; Conclusions	
<b>Chapter Three:</b>	
<b><i>Te Ara Hou - Approaching the Modern Marae</i></b>	<b>67</b>
Introduction; FIRST IMPRESSIONS - FIRST EUROPEAN DEPICTIONS OF MAORI: Mana, utu, tapu, noa; Whare size; Whare construction; Waka; Carving; Kainga, pa – villages, fortifications; Ritual greetings and wero; Summary; KAENGA, PA AND MARAE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: Making the marae; Nineteenth century marae; Depopulation, patronage and the pa; Apirana Ngata and the new marae; Conclusions	
<b>Chapter Four:</b>	
<b><i>Nga Marae – Marae</i></b>	<b>107</b>
Introduction; REFINING THE MODERN MARAE: Descriptions; The traditional marae; Whare nui; Whare kai; Whare paku; Kohanga reo; Paepae; Churches; Other subsidiary buildings; THE URBAN MARAE; Maori land and the Land Court; THE CONSERVED MARAE: Presentation of the Sleeping House (turangawaewae); How the display conveys messages; Does the house continue to have the same meanings?; Conclusions	
<b>Chapter Five:</b>	
<b><i>Nga Whare Whakairo – Carved Houses</i></b>	<b>143</b>
Introduction; WHAKAIRO: Tetahi Whare whakairo – A carved house; The meaning of the whole house; WHARE: Tohunga Whakairo Rakau - the wood carving expert; Preparations before carving; Constructing the house – deconstructing the house; WHAKAIRO – CARVINGS: Pare – lintels; Poupou; Epa and Amo; Tekoteko, Pou tahuhu, Pou tokomanawa, Pou tuarongo – figures carved in the round; Other representation; The whare as a kinship unit; Conclusions	
<b>Chapter Six:</b>	
<b><i>Tikanga O Nga Marae - Ritual on the Marae</i></b>	<b>191</b>
Introduction; DEFINING THE HUI: Tangi, Kawe mate and Unveilings; Weddings, 21 <sup>st</sup> Birthdays, Anniversaries; Church gatherings; Kingitanga hui – King Movement gatherings; Opening of marae buildings; Welcoming dignitaries; Semi-hui: conferences, committee meetings, socials; Tourist hui; DEFINING THE POWHIRI: Gathering; Wero – challenges; Karanga – calls; Haka powhiri – (war) dances; Mihi and whaikorero – speeches (of welcome); Waiata – songs; Koha – gift giving; The place of utu; Hongi – meeting; Hakari – feasting; Conclusions	

**Chapter Seven:**

<b><i>Mutunga - Conclusions</i></b>	<b>227</b>
Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?; TE KORE – DIVIDING THE PACIFIC: Nga Whare o nga Tipuna - Houses of the Ancestors; TE PO – REACHING AN ACCOMMODATION: Te Whare Whakaohonga - The Awakening House; Te Ara Hou - Approaching the Modern Marae; TE AO MARAMA – DIVIDING THE MARAE INTO PARTS: Nga Marae; Nga Whare whakairo – Carved Houses; Tikanga o nga Marae – Ritual on the marae; Te Whare Ora, Te Whare Puni – The Living House, the Sleeping House; Mutunga – Conclusions	
<b><i>Appendix One:</i></b>	<b>245</b>
<b>Glossary of Maori and Pacific Island terms</b>	<b>245</b>
<b>Glossary of Maori house terms</b>	<b>253</b>
<b>Maori gods, demi-gods and legendary figures</b>	<b>255</b>
<b><i>Appendix Two:</i></b>	<b>257</b>
<b>Maori Waka</b>	<b>257</b>
Discoverer of NZ:	257
Moriori (Rekohu - now Chatham Islands):	257
First Maori Settlement NZ:- (East & West Coast Wananga)	258
Second Maori Settlement of NZ:- (East Coast Wananga)	258
Third Maori Settlement of NZ:-	258
<b><i>Appendix Three:</i></b>	<b>261</b>
<b>List of Images</b>	<b>261</b>
<b><i>Appendix Four:</i></b>	<b>265</b>
<b>Some notes</b>	<b>265</b>
<b><i>Bibliography</i></b>	<b>268</b>

## **Chapter One:**

# **INTRODUCTION**

**Tihei mauri ora – In the beginning;**

**AN OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS: Peopling the Pacific; The marae in New Zealand; Whakairo – carving; Nga marae – marae (plural); Te marae – the marae; A whakapapa of Maori marae;**

**The end of the beginning**

## Tihei mauri ora – In the beginning

Have you ever visited a marae? Have you ever been inside a beautiful Whare nui? This is a phrase which means Great House, and a Whare nui is the central house of most Maori marae, perhaps even the heart of Maoridom. It can be an experience not to be missed. If properly invited to a marae you will gather outside, waiting to enter. Then, there is a wailing cry as you are called through a gate and onto the sacred earth that lies in front of the main house. This call caresses your amygdala and stirs you in unexpected ways, an ancient cry, lamentful and vivid and eerie.

There are speeches in a stirring expressive language, lyrical and mystically different to English, or French or any of the other Romance languages that are the common linguistic heritage of most New Zealanders. Then, you, the visitors are joined together with the local people, you clasp hands and kiss or hongi, the famous nose-press – once, sometimes twice. You shed your shoes and enter the Whare nui.

Inside the house it is often dim, almost half-lit, a carved whare can be almost overwhelming. There are dozens of carved figures, often-larger-than life with hard, powerful faces and gleaming, glinting eyes. They grasp weapons, or tools and search you out from the gloom, looking over you, listening. They have their own stories, far more lively and ancient than our own meek tales. These are living ancestors, resting in a wooden matrix, alert, aware.

This experience may never diminish. It may be your first time, it may be your hundredth, but there is a mysticity that it is difficult to express here. I could not tell you the number of marae I've visited in my lifetime, the whare I've entered. My family even live on a marae, Kohupatiki in Hawkes Bay. My most vivid memory of that marae is from my own grandfather's funeral, his tangi. On the second day, Te Arawa, his tribe, had arrived to show their grief. An hour or two later the Maori Queen, Te Atarangi Kahu and Tainui arrived. Te Arawa and Tainui have long, old, traditional disputes, but this was a tangi, held in Hawkes Bay and under the tikanga, the ritual, of another iwi (tribe), Ngati Kahungunu. Hundreds of people milled around and Te Arawa and Tainui faced each other and two huge groups, dozens and dozens of men on each side burst into two spontaneous haka, feet stamping, eyes rolling and glaring against each other...it was thunderous and my hair stood on end watching...and Te Arawa, slowly withdrew, allowing Tainui to enter the marae, and showing respect both for the peace of the marae, and to the deceased.

The Whare nui at Kohupatiki is quite small, and although fairly old, dating from 1913, its carvings are quite new. There are a number of carved whare which have been collected into museums, both here in New Zealand and surprisingly, elsewhere, in the Northern Hemisphere, far from their origins. One of these is Rauru, an exquisite house with a fearsome history.<sup>1</sup> Te Waru, a

---

<sup>1</sup> Eva Garbutt, "Conserving the Living Object - the Conservation of Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand" (Unpublished MA thesis, University College, London, 2003). pg 38.

great carver and tohunga (priest or expert) had begun the carvings for this house in the 1850s but had broken tapu, or sacred ritual, during the carving, and his wife died. He started carving again, but his next wife died...and again, his third wife. Clearly the tapu on the house was too great. Much later, Charles Nelson, a Rotorua entrepreneur heard about the uncompleted whare and persuaded Te Waru to part with the carvings and the house was then completed, largely by the master-carver Tene Waitere. It was erected in the village at Whakarewarewa, a famous thermal area in Rotorua. At its opening, to ensure the tapu was finally removed, two tohunga conducted ceremonies to remove any lingering taint. But shortly after both tohunga had died. The tapu had clearly not been removed, and the locals shunned the house, so in 1904 the whare left New Zealand and for most of the time since has been at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg (Museum for Humankind).

I have visited this whare twice, in Hamburg. And, of course, not without trepidation, at least the first time. It is found these days deep in the museum. You follow a pathway up broad staircases and then through quite traditional museum displays, into a rear section of the museum and at last, glimpse, through a doorway, the roof of the whare. At a balcony you look down on the truncated space in front of the whare and at the rich outside carvings, lit by soft spot-lighting. You descend the last staircase, cross the floor and, as with most whare, you leave your shoes at the door and cross the tapu threshold and enter the bowels of the whare itself. And there I was transfixed.

This house is so beautiful, so calm, so warm. It is the most wonderful, perfect, house. Gone in an instant was its fearsomeness for me, replaced with another awe – that made by the artistry, the detail, the sense of power, resting, in repose. And this, this opened questions in my mind. Where was the sense of unease I had expected given this whare's dark history? Was this house slumbering, its powers undiminished but drawn for now in other directions? I thought to myself – this house is living, it's alive, but it's sleeping. It's restful.

And so, that is where the story that makes up this thesis begins. What is a marae? Where did they come from? Not a history of marae, not a specification of marae, but rather a whakapapa of marae – a story about them, a true story. So, this, this little set of words is a Whakapapa of Maori Marae, and it begins here.

## **AN OUTLINE OF THIS THESIS**

### **Peopling the Pacific**

Celebrated, renowned, fated (fated), the explorer, James Cook, Lieutenant, Commander, Captain, is remembered in word and place wherever one turns in New Zealand. He graces our coins (the 50 cent piece), our placenames (Cape Kidnappers, Poverty Bay, Bay of Plenty, Mt Cook-Aoraki amongst numerous others) and our national consciousness, forming a demarcating line that he likely would not

have expected. He epitomises and represents the beginning of New Zealand's readmission to the outside world, one affected not on the terms that might have been anticipated by its Polynesian inhabitants but rather on a route and course, mapped and intersected by Europeans.

Maori may have looked often towards the sea, but if they ever expected contact with the vaguely remembered world of the South Pacific, they no doubt imagined another Kupe, Takitimu or Ngatoroirangi (famous Maori voyagers). They were certainly not expecting a looming, square-rigged sailing ship, such as Cook's vessel the *Endeavour*, filled with pale men. For us however, Cook stands at the exact cusp of a past and future. The former, the past, the pre-contact land of the Maori outlined by shared cultural memories recorded orally, in carvings and by direct experience. The latter, the post-contact future, increasingly inhabited by European thoughts, words and peoples, all outlined by the capture of the spoken word, at first on single pages and then later, within only a few years by the whole maelstrom of European intellectual foment.

The people that Cook met defined themselves and their houses, their art, architecture and the vernacular of their everyday lives by their place in their surroundings, and by their ancestors who had come here and who continued to live on here - in an articulated spirit form at the very least. Maori whakapapa, or complex genealogy, emphasised their place both in the land and as part of a continuum of people that stretched from legendary origins and into a possible future. However, it is mainly to the first written descriptions, those of Cook and the brilliant aristocrat Joseph Banks, the premier scientist aboard the *Endeavour* (and sometimes to Abel Tasman, the Dutch sea-farer who reached New Zealand in 1642) that we turn again and again to fix the moment of first contact. We value the words of these men highly, not simply for who they were, but because written words are precious in the new culture that has risen over the past two hundred years.

Before Cook however, before Tasman and even before Ferdinand Magellan<sup>2</sup> the Portuguese born, Spanish explorer, first traversed the Pacific in 1521, the history of Maori in New Zealand stretches at least another 800 years. Long before that even we can trace the history of our origins, in a chain of reversed discovery thousands of years long, thousands of kilometres old.

Current research suggests that the ultimate origins of the Polynesian peoples as a distinct cultural entity most likely lie somewhere near modern Taiwan and perhaps 5000 years ago.<sup>3</sup> Cook had made this conclusion himself or at least had recognised a clear relationship between widely separated groups across the Pacific. When in Jakarta, as the *Endeavour* returned to England, Joseph Banks had been told of similarities between words common in Indonesia and the central Pacific which were also

---

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand Magellan, 1480-1521, explorer and navigator.

<sup>3</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, [Rev. ]. ed. (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 2004). pg 31. For further information, see particularly: Patrick Vinton Kirch, *The Lapita Peoples : Ancestors of the Oceanic World*, The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1997). Many people have worked on these theories and perhaps the best known more recent theorists are Patrick Kirch and John Terrell.



found in Madagascar.<sup>4</sup> He could not quite reconcile the thought, but it was a truth, the distant ancestors of Maori had voyaged as far South America and had settled as distantly as Africa. It is a vast and astonishing idea.<sup>5</sup>

Speculation however has come from every direction, some more widely oriented than those of any conventional compass. Thor Heyerdahl, famous amongst other things for the *Kontiki* expeditions that sailed between Peru and Easter Island, was certain Polynesians had originated in South America.<sup>6</sup> His conjectures were based on seemingly clear links: the presence of South American sweet potato's as an ancient root crop throughout the Pacific for instance, and on a more conjectural level, the perceived similarity between Easter Island monumental architecture and the stonework of the Inca.

As a brief list, not intended to be a list of the ridiculous, other suggestions to explain the inter-related peopling of the island Pacific have included: descent from aliens; relic populations from the lost continent of Mu; Egyptian settlers and traders; and even descendants of the lost tribe of Israel.<sup>7</sup> The last theory continues to retain currency amongst some Maori (and other Pacific peoples) today.

There are in fact numerous tangible similarities across Polynesia, and further, with cultures and peoples in Micronesia, Melanesia and Asia. Perhaps the most clearly evident are similarities in language, where cognates or related words are, even at first glance, perfectly obvious. New Zealand, Samoa and Fiji for instance turning up *whare*, *fale* and *bare* for house or respectively *rua*, *lua*, and *rua* for the number two – simple instances amongst many. At least in linguistics, this evident relationship is categorised using the term Austronesian – a greater family of languages to which hundreds of current languages belong.

Austronesian, Lapitan, Polynesian. These are relatively conventional terms for different peoples, complicated in part by the use of the term Austronesian across time. It is probably easiest to visualise Austronesians as different peoples interrelated by language (and in some cases other cultural similarities) although widely separated geographically and by, in some instances, 5000 years of separation;<sup>8</sup> Lapitans as referring to a group of peoples, who lived during a specific time-frame, in a particular part of the Pacific; and lastly, Polynesians, as being the fairly modern descendants of the Lapitans, who live in some regions inhabited by the Lapitans but who expanded into other new regions.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Banks and J. C. Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771* (Sydney: The Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Angus and Robertson, 1962). pp 444-8.

<sup>5</sup> K. R. Howe, *The Quest for Origins : Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands?* (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 2003). pg 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pg 60.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp 42-59.

<sup>8</sup> Peter S. Bellwood et al., *The Austronesians : Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Canberra: Dept. of Anthropology Australian National University, 1995). pg 41.

<sup>9</sup> Roger Green in: Jesse David Jennings, *The Prehistory of Polynesia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979). pg 27.

As well as the linguistic congruence, there are parallels between Austronesian arts and crafts; architectural forms; oral legends; plants and animals; religion; and there are obvious phylogenetic or physical similarities and genetic trails. Conjecture based on these similarities has gradually firmed until now there is little doubt about the basic premise of an “Austronesian migration” and only argument about how this was completed.

There is archaeological evidence all across the Pacific of this expansion. This is elegant proof of the movement from Asia via the islands north of Australia, skirting Papua and out into the greater Pacific. The peoples who left these remains are known to us generally as the Lapita peoples, a collective name that spans time and space in great swathes but which encapsulates in one sense the cultural relatedness of a particular group of Austronesian descendants. Known first and now foremost for their pottery trails, the Lapita pottery assemblages were dispersed initially near Papua and Irian Jaya, spread to New Caledonia and then made the dramatic physical leap to Western Polynesia (principally Fiji, Tonga and Samoa). These people were sea-farers. The gaps, the watery spaces between the islands and the difficult traverses made are the speciality of oceanic experts. Mere chance is too fickle, too spare, for such crossings to have been successfully completed and for settlement to have occurred, otherwise. As well, at least some trade was continued after settlement between the distinct islands, as shown by the movement of goods from one place to another.

The pottery speaks for itself, both unadorned versions and more famously, patterned with geometry to suit the Lapitan eye; it can be dated carefully and quite exactly and provides clear sequences showing movement, settlement and further movement out into the Pacific. It aids us to reliably follow the ancestors of Maori along their journeys, both geographical and cultural, as the pottery makes its own transition and finally reaches its own conclusion. While pottery is revived or even maintained in some cultures, in others it fades entirely from memory – so, in New Zealand there is never any tradition of pottery making before European contact, for Maori it was a lost art.

As well as Lapita pottery there are other cultural artefacts that we follow in their journey across the ocean. There are tools, there is jewellery and there are the other discarded, lost or otherwise left behind accoutrement of daily lives that vivify the Lapitans in our eyes. Remarkably, we can even survey the remnants of their houses and homes. Often no more than post-holes on the shores’ edge, nevertheless they lay the foundations for both the stilt houses that are prevalent in island cultures across the Pacific and more esoterically many of our assumptions regarding both the population and lifestyles of the Lapitans.

While the story of Lapita ends at Tonga and Samoa, their descendants, the Polynesians would spread far further. There are new and old names to describe the region of their settlement. One

newer form is Oceania, and the idea of a Near Oceania and a Far Oceania.<sup>10</sup> The most common one however is still the idea of the Polynesian triangle. It is a vast, vast area of the Pacific Ocean, filled with tiny islands, but bounded on its three corners by Hawaii, Rapanui and New Zealand. Within that huge range lies Polynesia, a phrase that unsurprisingly means “many islands”. Unsurprisingly as well, given their extremity from the broad band of nations, Tonga, Samoa, the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, the Marquesas amongst them, that are the core of Polynesian settlement, it is very likely that the three corner groups were the last inhabited.<sup>11</sup> There were other difficulties as well as distance, the question of winds, the length of time at sea for instance; but all were eventually settled.

The Lapitan’s descendants, the Polynesians, would come to inhabit a vastly greater Pacific across which arose whole new cultures, but as they arose, consistent in many, perhaps all, was a degree of architectural monumentalism dedicated generally to the gods. The gods, the spirits, ancestors, were important to Polynesians, as shown by the significance and scale of religious complexes. At that time however, those sites were combined, in most of the cultures, with the use of prohibitions on all manner of activities. In Hawaii, for example, kapu (Maori: tapu) placed injunctions on all people, but weighed most heavily in the constant ritual which surrounded the aliki (Maori: ariki), those of the highest rank.<sup>12</sup> Activities were proscribed and people and places set aside, warded by kapu, and its potentially malevolent powers, whether enforced by humans or spirits. Sacredness and prohibition were cultural practices that were transported and which persevered throughout the Polynesian Pacific.

In culture after culture, tapu – a word found re-forged in English as taboo – or sacred areas were dedicated to the worship of the same, or at least almost the same, gods and spirits. The more politically potent and populous the island nation, perhaps, then the greater the investment made to create these ‘marae’ complexes. In Tonga, in Tahiti, on Rapanui and in Hawaii huge compounds were built under the auspices of hierarchical and quite central governance.

In the Society Islands (modern Tahiti), marae, were temple complexes the largest of which were stepped stone pyramids, surmounted by wooden temple buildings<sup>13</sup>. Similar compounds were known as heiau in Hawaii, where sacred areas included towering wooden structures erected on stone terraces, and huge wooden effigies that literally glowered at the human participants of ritual, from their sacred positions.<sup>14</sup> The religious complexes best known to most people however and the ones which have most captured the attention of the world are the ahu (platforms) and moai (statues) of Rapanui – Easter Island. Here, are figures probably similar in inception to the carved figures from Hawaii, Tahiti

<sup>10</sup> Roger Green, ‘Near and Remote Oceania. Disestablishing “Melanesia” in culture history’ in: Ralph Bulmer and Andrew Pawley, *Man and a Half : Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer* (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1991). Also, see: Kirch, *The Lapita Peoples : Ancestors of the Oceanic World*.

<sup>11</sup> Howe, *The Quest for Origins : Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands?* pg 63.

<sup>12</sup> Patrick Vinton Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks : An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985). pp 293-4.

<sup>13</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. pp 182-5.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries : The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin, 2004). pp 381-7.

and elsewhere but carried to the furthest extent. On Rapanui they were made truly gargantuan, as gigantic stone heads and torsos, erected on dressed stone platforms, their glistening white coral eyes gazing away from the ever-present sea behind. Those who see these statues as unique are perhaps simply unaware of the antecedents and the similarly dramatic cultural statements made in other monumental structures throughout the Pacific, by other Polynesian societies.

Despite their incredible sea-faring ability, the level of contact between or with the more difficult to reach islands was scant and sporadic if it existed, at least between the most widely separated, or most difficult to reach. So, although these erections speak simply but powerfully of the inter-relatedness of these Pacific peoples, in some cases, such as in New Zealand and Rapanui, settlement and initial visitation may have been unique.

The very last place to be settled by these Polynesians was also the mightiest set of islands in the entire Polynesian Pacific: New Zealand. More southerly, more westerly than other islands, its position was in some ways unfavourable for discovery and so, perhaps a mere twelve or thirteen hundred years ago (debate continues and there are conflicting proofs) these islands, when settled by Polynesian seafarers, became the last substantial land-mass on Earth to be inhabited by humans.<sup>15</sup>

Maori myth and legend has many preoccupations. There are origin stories, which have their roots and own nascence in similar myths in other older Polynesian nations. There are also legends almost unique to New Zealand about the journeys and voyages by which ancestral Maori travelled from the homeland of Hawaiki to reach these shores. Some are in fact neatly shadowed by similar stories in the Cook Islands, the same tale but told from the two different ends of the journey. Amongst these are tales of the settlement of New Zealand by Maori, the origins of the land, the origins of carving amongst them. Although, we continue to use the word Maori, that is a word that results from a European nicety; it was easier to qualify us as a people if we had a racial name.<sup>16</sup> Maori, if they named themselves, were Tangata, or Tangata whenua: people, or people of the land. This land was however already peopled before the arrival of humans on its shores, but by spirits and gods of the land and the sea, and by creatures and birds with characteristics and mannerisms of their own. These stories are the source for many of the features of the Whare whakairo, the fully carved meeting house. And it is the whare, with genealogy and ritual, that form a three-piece foundation on which the marae might eventually come to fruition, replicating at last the marae complexes of other Polynesian societies, but in a Maori way.

Maori settlers, when they reached these islands, were at first occupied by the process of survival – difficult in some ways, trivially easy in others, but requiring modifications in lifestyle unrivalled by other Polynesian settlements. Early Maori shelters, village forms and art were simple and speak more

<sup>15</sup> Janet M. Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*, [New ]. ed. (Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul, 1987). pg 247.

<sup>16</sup> Anne Salmond reprises the use of the word Maori in the opening sections of *Between Worlds*, but these accounts were made by individuals long after the word had come into popular usage. The word Maori was first generally used in the Treaty of Waitangi document, to describe all the iwi as one group.

about the difficulties and pressures of this new world, than the wealth and bounty it provided. The colder climate was the first difficulty, combined with the dramatic distance involved in reaching these islands. So, of the three main meat crops of the Pacific, in New Zealand only the kuri, or dog lived on; there were neither pigs nor chickens. On Rapanui, the situation was similar but modified, there, outnumbering volumetrically the ahu platforms, are the mighty chicken houses built to cultivate poultry – the Easter Islanders had lost dogs and pigs, which may never have survived their settlement voyages. It is debatable whether introduced Polynesian rats were stowaways or deliberately carried. Although eaten, rats were certainly not farmed, in the same way that Guinea Pigs were in South America for example. Nor were many of the Polynesian food staples viable in this new land: taro and yams, coconut and breadfruit were essentially uncultivable and kumara (sweet potato, but for those familiar with modern varieties, the old Maori type were far smaller and harder to nurture) was grown only with difficulty, and only in particular regions. This however was partially balanced by originally huge mainland seal colonies and, at first, great numbers of gigantic birds to hunt, in the form of the native moa, a word which ironically elsewhere in the Pacific meant *chicken*.<sup>17</sup>

While there is no ample testimony of Maori life in those times, we can reconstruct using archaeology. As with the Lapitans before, we have the holey remains of houses and villages dating back hundreds of years which give us guidelines regarding the size and the form of Maori living spaces.<sup>18</sup> Over time, population increases and rising competition for resources in the richest areas led to conflict and the dominant architectural form eventually became the pa, often huge, fortified and palisaded redoubts, designed to protect the inhabitants of whole villages during short sieges. Perhaps coupled with this, the most extravagant art-forms were the sometimes huge Waka taua (or war canoes) designed not for fishing but for the transport of raiding parties. Many of these canoes were elaborately ornamented with carvings. Now carvings most often represent the spiritual aspects of the modern Whare nui, the meeting house, and the heart of the marae, which are the heart of this thesis.

Into this increasingly complex setting, not only in New Zealand, but across the Pacific, intruded European explorers, initially Spaniards and Portuguese and, later, as the economic and military stars of their respective nations rose, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France and then the United States. Although there is debate on the matter, it is generally acknowledged that the first European visitor to New Zealand was the Dutch voyager Abel Tasman in 1642.<sup>19</sup> There is little evidence but occasional speculation that the Spanish (or Portuguese) may have reached New Zealand before this time. The name New Zealand however originated in the Dutch bureaucracy and that has become its modern name. Abel Tasman did not actually name New Zealand, he referred to it as Staten Landt, as

<sup>17</sup> One of the largest land-birds that ever existed, there were numerous species, all flightless, ranging from, say, the size of a small deer to some three metres tall, and weighing hundreds of kilogrammes.

<sup>18</sup> From a number of archaeological sites such as those at Pouerua, near the Bay of Islands and Palliser Bay in Wairarapa.

<sup>19</sup> Allen Curnow et al., *Abel Janszoon Tasman & the Discovery of New Zealand* (Wellington [N.Z.]: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1942).

he assumed it was connected to Staten Island at the bottom of South America. The name New Zealand was penned by an unknown Dutch bureaucrat at a later date. These islands remained unvisited then for a lengthy 127 years until James Cook, voyaging across the Pacific for the first time, whose voyages signalled in the case of New Zealand, eventual settlement by colonists as part of the British Empire.<sup>20</sup>

To Cook and to Joseph Banks and other members of Cook's crew we can credit the first European descriptions of the way of life that existed then, but which quickly and dramatically changed.<sup>21</sup> Specifically we read their descriptions of the lifestyles and all the other daily cultural details both in New Zealand, and in other Polynesian cultures across the whole of the Pacific Ocean. Fortunately these descriptions were provided by rapt and deeply engaged visitors, with sharp vision both physical and metaphorical and their accounts are fascinating and often insightful. They open that clichéd window into a vanished past and while their understanding was clearly incomplete and that of the outsider, they were reasonably proficient in the rudiments of the Maori language. They also had, during Cook's first Pacific voyage, the advantage of a clearly able translator. This was Tupaia, the chiefly Tahitian priest who sailed from the Society Islands with Cook and whose native language, that of Tahiti, is closely related to the Maori tongue. Tupaia was also an able navigator, and may even have been a navigational expert.

There are, or were, religious edifices across the Pacific, some greater, some lesser and the memory at least of these would eventually contribute to the form that the modern Maori marae complex would take, its path coming through the innumerable pa (fortification) sites in New Zealand. Pa indeed appeared so alike Tahitian marae that Tupaia, believed they were Maori religious structures.<sup>22</sup>

Reading Cook and Banks and others, we are given insights into the way of doing things, the people and the places they inhabited and what those places were like. From these we can draw a picture at least of the processes involved in visiting the marae of those times and we are given a very clear image of the houses, clothing, ornaments, canoes, weapons and tools that existed, their size, their make-up and their forms. These are portrayed in both images and words. Such details are important, for no matter how relatively brief these and other contemporary descriptions may be, they isolate and outline an episteme which was soon gone. New forms of all these things would emerge, but these were changed, and occluded in many ways by the influence of the new world.

---

<sup>20</sup> James Cook and J. C. Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1955).

<sup>21</sup> Actually there were French explorers here at (almost) exactly the same time. This is discussed later in the book, their descriptions, although important, are less complete than those of Cook and Banks.

<sup>22</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 1769.

## The marae in New Zealand

The transition to the modern marae form, that which is common today, is really the story of the combination of Maori culture with the new European culture. This new cultural infusion provided both technology and change, modifying the forms that had been initially encountered by the first European visitors. In this story, old atua (spirits) diminished in importance and the power of tapu and noa (the profane, the opposite of tapu) were gradually dissipated by the new atua of Christianity. So, the sacredness of many marae elements faded to secularity and the walls of pa fell away, as the level of war declined. This was the narrative of perhaps a single century, from 1769 and Cook's first visit, to 1872, and the final dominance of the new colonial government. Although New Zealand had regular European visitors from only a few years after Cook's first Pacific voyage, most commonly they were short-term sealers and whalers. The settlement and colonisation of New Zealand only accelerated dramatically after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.<sup>23</sup> This document really is the founding document of the European peopling of New Zealand and was an arrangement between the autochthonous Maori and generations of new peoples thereafter. Over time conflict arose, but by 1872, Maori had essentially been subdued by colonial governance and the last pa would fade from both memory and as architectural articulations within the landscape.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, from the instant of contact, new technology transformed the manner of representation most redolent of Maori art, whakairo rakau, or wood carving. The use of metal, instead of the stone tools Maori had used before, made carving both easier and indeed *different* – so, there is a definite change in style and manner that reflects this.<sup>25</sup> And carvings, as we shall see, are an important part of many marae.

The modern marae is a versatile domain, a complex of buildings nominally for the use of local hapu (sub-tribe/s) gathered on reserved and usually protected land.<sup>26</sup> This complex normally includes a number of buildings, from small storage structures and houses to the Whare nui (great house); on any marae, the focal point and most important house. The marae itself is named for a special tract of land – the marae atea – which is nominally tapu and which now most often lies directly in front of the principal house. The marae is a place where people gather in celebration, or to mourn, or simply in congeries.

That main house, the meeting house, has many names in Maori, Whare nui, Whare tipuna, Whare whakairo amongst them, but all really referring to a house of ancestors, or simplest of all meeting

<sup>23</sup> This is discussed more comprehensively later, but the Treaty of Waitangi is a document signed by the Colonial administrators and many Maori leaders, in 1840. It is basically New Zealand's founding document.

<sup>24</sup> Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori* (Wellington [N.Z.]: Dominion Museum, 1927).

<sup>25</sup> Roger Neich, *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2001). pp 147-9.

<sup>26</sup> Plurals in Maori are not nominated by the use of another letter or sound, much like the word sheep in English. Thus hapu may refer to a single sub-tribe or multiple sub-tribes. As a general rule, this book will use the Maori manner of designating plurals when a Maori word is used.

house.<sup>27</sup> Many of these whare are substantially carved, not mere decorative carving, but representational images, that are imbued with the mana (prestige, power) of those they represent. In New Zealand there are roughly a thousand or so marae, and they may be found everywhere, from the smallest village to the largest city.<sup>28</sup> Some have even been erected overseas, in our near neighbour Australia for instance, but most unexpectedly, there are also four beautiful and famous whare, located in the Northern Hemisphere.<sup>29</sup> Stored or displayed in museums, these four and their local counterparts in New Zealand museums, form a special sub-set of whare, where the rules and rituals of regular marae, if not suspended are modified, simplified. As a result these houses are perhaps less alive than they might be, more slumbering. So I make a distinction between the two types of houses – Whare Ora, Living Houses, those on regular marae; and Whare Puni, Sleeping Houses, those in conserved situations.

The modern marae complex however may include numerous buildings: the main Whare nui, often carved; a Whare kai for eating; Whare paku or ablution blocks; and in a revival of old times when there was often a Whare kura or house of learning, many marae now incorporate kohanga reo, or language nests for young children to immersively learn the Maori language. All of these may be surrounded by the houses of some of the local hapu, or more recently, there are now purely urban marae, hemmed by whatever buildings might lay nearby, office blocks for instance, houses or shops.

### **Whakairo - carving**

Originally, the finest carving was concentrated on magnificent waka (canoes), used for carrying warriors. Over time the locus of carving in the nineteenth century gradually changed to the carved house and for over one hundred and fifty years to the present, this has remained the epitome of an idiom representing Maori culture. As such and coupled with the belief that Maori were dying out, the house became an imminently collectable item. In part this explains the migration of several houses overseas and similarly into the larger museums in New Zealand itself. That museums in New Zealand collected whare also says something about the assumed remoteness of Whare whakairo – both geographically and culturally from European society.

While not all Whare nui were carved, many were and are. This carving, or whakairo, lends its name to some Whare nui, and so a carved house may be referred to as a Whare whakairo. A fully carved house might have literally hundreds of carvings, from its crest to the ends of its external eaves and throughout the interior. However, while these carvings were once part of the essential fabric of

---

<sup>27</sup> Reference may be made here – and elsewhere – to Maori words found in this book, by using the glossary which is included in the appendices.

<sup>28</sup> I have read this figure in a number of documents but do not have any substantiated evidence for this number.

<sup>29</sup> Technically there is another, in Hawaii, but that is discussed more fully later.



the building, acting as support posts for instance, it is now typical for them to be ‘draped’ structurally as a sort of carved fabric over a modern frame.

There are all sorts of carvings on whare, but the most common are anthropomorphic figures, usually of ancestors, sometimes of gods – although inevitably some are one and the same. A carved house is also usually – although this depends on its regional origin – eponymously named for an ancestor, and so entering the house is literally entering the puku (belly) or, in other traditions, ngakau (heart) of that ancestor. Carved houses, and all their constituent parts are tapu, and this tapu commenced long before their erection. This is certainly one of the elements that allow Whare whakairo to transcend their now essentially European-styled architectonic nature.

The traditional whakairo method required the active engagement of specialist carving masters, Tohunga whakairo rakau (priest/s or experts of carving) who selected trees in the forests, supervised their removal so as not to breach tapu and then later undertook the carving – usually with assistance. The carving process itself was subject to tapu injunctions, with manifold rules, disbarring women for instance from observing, and banning food nearby. Using stone tools, the entire process took several years and was a vast economic expense for the patron, as they were required not only to provide materiel, but also support the carvers and recompense them significantly.<sup>30</sup>

Carvings transcended their wooden basis however. The wood for them was specially selected and that wood, filled with its own natural mauri or spirit was tapu in itself. Felling ceremonies were vital to ensure that tapu was not breached and in order to show respect to the gods and the wood. The carving process imparted some of the mauri of the carver into the wood and reformed it to represent an ancestor say or a god. This transformation also made the whakairo even more tapu. At the end, when a Whare whakairo was erected there were more important rituals to be carried out, even sacrifices. The completed whare carried and represented the mana of the hapu and its rangatira, but it was also infused with the mauri of the Tohunga whakairo rakau and the wood and the ancestors. It became a highly, even dangerously tapu place.

From the moment of contact with European visitors, and ineluctably as New Zealand was colonised, carving was changed. This was a bifurcated transition, in part technological, in part cultural. Specifically, metal tools and technology changed the very way that whakairo were formed, as carvers converted rapidly from stone to metal tools, disdaining the former because of the ease and malleability imparted by steel. Technological transformations such as the use of sawed timber also modified the wooden template onto which whakairo were etched.

As well, there was a sea-change in perspective, both artistic and literal, as European techniques of rendering perspective in art entered the scope of Maori carvers and as colonists brought with them

---

<sup>30</sup> Makereti Papakura and T. K. Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori* (London: Gollancz, 1938). pg 248. There are many descriptions of the resourcing needed in the course of Papakura’s book.

different ideals of art. So, at some time, carvers reached an accommodation between completely traditional practice and forms and a sort of mannerist process of replication along old styles.

Modern whakairo is thus a participation between Maori and pakeha (a common Maori term for Europeans) and the carved house is also such a concatenation. While the marae may appear to remain uniquely, culturally individual, it is also in many respects such a melange. European colonisation brought about many changes, some so subtle that few Maori are even aware of the modification to their matrix, or would be willing to realign it, anyway.

Foremost amongst these was the fall of the power of tapu and noa, and the quiet subsidence of the worship of old atua. These have been replaced wholesale by Christianity, in whatever form, and a karakia or prayer on a marae, will now invariably be a Christian prayer. So the modern marae form has its foundations in many worlds, the world of the living Maori and the world of our past, and linked with both of these, the European world; technology, ideas and ideals.

Other European technologies also transformed the whare. While previously all of the material aspects of the house had been entirely Maori in conception and had been integral to the structure, over time this diminished. The eventual result is the modern Whare nui. A European hall constructed entirely using standard techniques and materials but covered with a fabric of Maori carvings and other decoration. It is an amalgam of two things.

### **Nga marae – marae (plural)**

Although the vast majority of Whare nui are on regular marae, some are now specifically display houses. A number of whare are found in museums, both in New Zealand and overseas, far removed from their origins, both in time and space, and disjunct in some ways from their inception. The roots of the houses were literally in the earth of New Zealand, especially as their wooden origins are deeply entwined with the notion of living wood that then lives a second life once carved. Now, these houses and their spiritual inhabitants are in relatively quiet repose, and in fact, some are even in storage, their disjunction even more complete as they are no longer woven into the fabric of a Living House structure.

Ironically, themselves housed in museums, the meaning of these whare undergoes subtle changes. Not the least being the more regular imposition of the Western gaze, as both visitors and even curation, and the very process of conservation translates the original meaning of the house. These Whare whakairo thus become great objets d'art. Their carvings and other accoutrement realise value in the Western eye for a combination of otherness and alien artistry rather than their symbolic meanings and more importantly for their representational anatomy and embodiment.

Their large scale aside, at least as exhibitions in museums, these houses also have an outside place in representing the culture of New Zealand Maori. They are often the only port and portal through which non-Maori see Maori society, or at least some of the artefactual references to that life.

Life on the marae however continues. The ebb and the flow of hui (gatherings) and other assemblies on marae continue, filling marae with visitors and then draining them slowly away. So, the last story here is the story of how the regular marae continues its life. The manner that people enter a marae, leave a marae and interact while on the marae is carefully subscribed, and although not all rules are followed at all times, during many Maori hui, the *form* of ritual is carefully followed. Not simply in recognition of the old ways, but also in recognition of the other forces at work, the spirits and the mana (power) of the marae itself, as well as the human reasons.

### **Te marae – the marae**

Whare and marae are subject and always have been to the power of tapu, and those who violate tapu may be subject to consequences. To ward this tapu and ensure that proper respect is paid to the house, to the people and to the marae itself, there are complex rituals which ideally must be engaged before entering a marae, and while undertaking hui there. For outsiders of any kind, or visitors, coming to the marae is the result of a take (Maori: refer to glossary), or purpose and the gathering itself, whatever the reason is known as a hui. Hui however are not homogenous, but are flavoured in a variety of ways, from simple meetings, to ritual gatherings and mourning ceremonies, several days long, where the dead are farewelled and their spirits take flight from their earthy remains. This applies equally in Maori and Christian theology for in both, humans were formed from clay. In the former, animated by the god of the forests, Tane Mahuta.

For any hui, there are common forms of ritual that may occur to welcome visitors. This process is known as a powhiri, or greeting ceremony, during which a series of steps are followed, establishing a ritual dialogue between the tangata whenua, the local people of the marae, and the manuhiri, the visitors. After gathering, the visitors are welcomed onto the marae by a karanga (cry, call) and then may be formally challenged by one or more warriors, or toa; this challenge is known as the wero. If this proceeds smoothly, then the two parties may remain separated while important speeches are made (mihi and whaikorero), which help bind the two groups together until at last they are joined and mingle with the hongī, the pressing of noses in greeting. The ceremonies complete, the manuhiri become, at least temporarily, part of the tangata whenua, the people of the land, the locals. Visitors may enter the principal house and later a hakari, or feast, may occur. In some cases, mihi may occur in the house, rather than outside – this is a matter for the kawa, or protocol of the local people, which (nearly) always takes precedence.

But these are only simple descriptions that belie the ritual nature of these ceremonies and which neglect the complexity resulting from hundreds of years of development. The reality can be very emotional for both sides and is wrought really through complex negotiations between both parties. The negotiation is also with the underlying structure of nature itself, which is present in the form of atua who reside all round and tipuna or ancestors who keep watch and are embodied in the actual fabric of the marae and particularly the Whare nui. Tipuna may be either living or dead and many tipuna are perfectly alive. The word also conveys a sense of respect for elderly people – so does not mean necessarily either a direct relative or simply an older person, but a respected elder. In traditional Maori society, age is revered or at least honoured and the opinions, knowledge and thoughts of our elders is thus conveyed into the meaning of this word as well.

These ceremonies aid the transition between barriers that exist on any marae. While some of those barriers are clearly those of fences or other physical interpositions between the marae and the world around, many of them are metaphysical. In order to breach such barriers, gateways are needed and pathways that lead from the outer spaces to the inner – into the protected spaces, secular and spiritual.

Gateways come in forms that suit the manner of the barriers. There are actual gateways first in the fences or walls around marae and at the entry point into the Whare nui. A simple proof of their potency within the Maori ethos is the use of decoration, which is elaborate and purposeful. The decoration both demonstrates that the waharoa (gateway) and pare (Maori: door lintel. Pronounced: pa-reh) are important and at the same time serves the purpose of affecting the tapu around them.

To open and protect these gateways and to lay out pathways between them and then beyond, guides are required who know the correct tikanga (custom, convention), and use the rituals and ceremonies that have been passed down by tipuna to this generation. Those coming to a marae, beyond merely visiting, actually undertake a journey, from one state to another, transecting realms of tapu, where not following a path correctly may have consequences. To properly enter a marae is to be inducted temporarily into Te Ao Maori, The Maori World, but less figuratively, the Maori way of doing things. Further, it is to pass under the pare and enter the Whare nui and to enter the very belly of the hapu you visit.<sup>31</sup> If a guide is not present, if you do not follow the correct path, if you breach the barriers rather than enter through gateways, you clearly risk breaking tapu – and do so at your own risk.

The transection of these same barriers, almost certainly without guidance, when entering those houses that slumber in museums thus presents questions both as to the meaning of tapu in a secular environment and as to the nature of guidance in those places.

---

<sup>31</sup> Literally in some interpretations of the whare's layout.

## A whakapapa of Maori marae

A whakapapa is many things. It is a Maori word and it needs translation, so a conventional translation might be a genealogy. Another might be a history. A whakapapa however is all of these things and more – it has a sense of nuance that is strictly untranslatable – it is after all a complex idea. A whakapapa is the story really of the interrelationships between people. Whakapapa these days are written, but in the past they were the province of specialist experts. While most Maori, particularly those of higher rank were no doubt aware of the rudiments of the inter-relationships they shared, it was the task of tohunga to remember and record senior descent lines, their consanguinities and the degrees of that relationship. It is a concept that continues to this day as iwi re-affirm their relationships in the light of Treaty of Waitangi settlement claims and the new ability of iwi to actively reaffirm their ability to provide for their people.

In the first instance a whakapapa is the list of ancestors. It commences, often in Hawaiki, which is to say in the fairly mystic period before the migration of Maori to New Zealand. Thereafter it is a continuous list of relationships, marriages and bondings. Professor Hirini Mead defines it like this:

Whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and gift of birth. It is the social component of the ira, the genes. A child is born into a kinship system which is already in place and has been for many generations...Whakapapa provides our identity within a tribal structure.<sup>32</sup>

Maori children are not just born, they are conceived into a world in which they are innately immersed in their ancestry, their kin. Those raised traditionally are aware of much of the nuance of this birthing. They are inter-related at many levels, first to their immediate family, then to their extended family – their hapu – then they are bound within the descent lines of their greater tribe or tribes, their iwi.

The concept of whakapapa does not or would not generally translate to inanimate objects. Neither a book for instance or a house would have whakapapa. Marae however, and Whare nui in particular are strictly different. Both are deeply imbued with their own mana or spiritual power, and in many instances components of these places go beyond representation and actually embody ancestors. They can rightly lay claim to whakapapa. Another translation of mana might even be, ancestral efficacy; mana is often residual from the kinship of our ancestors, our tipuna. It would be presumptuous to call this thesis a history of marae when dealing with ancestors. It wrongfully strips them of some of their mana, by notionally removing their actual kinship. These ancestors, their spirits, are rich with mana and their stories are more complicated than just histories as they are also linked ineluctably to their personal stories, to their own ancestors and descendants and often to the place they inhabit, their turangawaewae.

---

<sup>32</sup> Sidney M. Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2003). pg 52.

So, this thesis is a whakapapa of the Maori marae. To some extent it is a history of the ancestors of the modern marae, commencing in Hawaiki, following those ancestors to New Zealand, relating the stories of many generations of ancestral marae antecedents over the many hundreds of years that Maori have lived here. Marae have mana and wairua, or spirit, of their own, so this is part of the story here as well.

A thesis however is in a Western thought-space. It is necessary to utilise the thoughts, techniques and tools of Western thought in order to flesh out and further this whakapapa. While the Maori research of this thesis has come from much field-work, both in New Zealand and overseas, there was much recourse to other traditional sources of information. Marae are a well-known entity in New Zealand, nevertheless this is the first book which specifically focuses on this topic. I have however had access to a range of important resources.

For the first details of Maori in New Zealand I have mentioned, albeit briefly, some of our own exploring stories. For this really is the start of the story of Maori in New Zealand, our own story in our own words, or at least a translated version of them. Thereafter it becomes an old tale but seen through modern eyes. Archaeology, in all its modern technological varieties informs us of the period between occupation and the arrival of Europeans, before which we have no written documentation. Maori culture was an oral culture and so the insights of archaeology attain extra depth, as they provide information about how people lived over the course of many hundreds of years of occupation. Probably the most valuable resource used here were various papers and books by Professor Douglas Sutton. There are a number of important archaeological sites in New Zealand, but I've focussed on the area near Pouerua, which delineates a significant set of historical pa sites, over a long timeframe. Sutton has been instrumental in detailing these digs and the results and conclusions that he draws from them are vivid and thought-provoking.

The first written details that we have are those provided in the journals of the earliest European visitors and explorers. There was a dramatic, if brief, encounter between Abel Tasman, his crews and Maori of the Northern South Island in 1642. This is succinctly documented in the remaining versions of his journal but there are images as well from a shipboard merchant, Isaac Gilsemans, which are wonderfully detailed. The next visitor was James Cook, and, over the course of three voyages Cook and a number of his crew members wrote fairly copiously on the life of Maori. The first descriptions, and those that I use, are Cook's own, those of the brilliant scientist Joseph Banks and Sydney Parkinson, one of the two main illustrators aboard the *Endeavour*. Both Parkinson's images, and those of Deitrich Sporing, the other artist, are often simply astonishing. They are detailed with an expert eye and speak of things that even the accounts remain reticent about. They are silent observers that vividly picture the Maori way of life for us.

For the history of pa, one of the main forms from which the modern marae is quite literally descended, I have turned firstly to Elsdon Best. Best, writing in the early twentieth century was a constant and catholic researcher. *The Pa Maori*, his work on the pa, and his book *The Maori Canoe*, amongst many others, were written at the time when probably the last people who had been actively involved in the construction of pa and even waka were still alive and able to act as informants. Best himself relies on numerous original resources for additional information and I have done the same. There are many short, but often detailed accounts of Maori pa and kainga (villages) to be found in the writings of nineteenth century explorers, missionaries and other Europeans. These are invaluable in providing an external purview and most of those sources such as Ernst Dieffenbach, John Savage and Joel Polack are accurate and reliable if occasionally tainted, even if only subconsciously, with a sort of European gaze – whether of innate racism or tinted instead with the rosy hue of the noble savage. Many of these sources were fluent or very fluent in Maori, travelled extensively and spent many months in direct contact and visiting Maori kainga and villages. These can be neatly tied up with the often finely detailed images of contemporaneous painters, most importantly to this thesis, George French Angas, whose images enrich our visualisation. They reawaken that fairly faded episteme in ways to which the written word can often only aspire.

When defining the modern marae I looked firstly to my own experience and fieldwork. I made visits to marae both in New Zealand and overseas, throughout the course of my thesis. Many of the buildings and spaces in marae have a long and classic history, related to their partial origins in pa. Other buildings are of very recent provenance, or at least have taken on a new meaning, or have a new context. These are things which I feel only became obvious from actually visiting and observing marae. So, for instance Whare wananga, or learning centres for tohunga have been long defunct, but these days, many marae have Kohanga Reo, or pre-school language ‘nests’. This is an observable translation of an ideal of the marae as a centre for learning, which has only re-emerged over the last two decades. As well, I certainly made reference to Michael Austin’s brief but important research regarding marae as built spaces in New Zealand.

The second part of this chapter deals with marae and whare in museums and again was based firstly on personal experience. Here, Eva Garbutt’s thesis work regarding the preservation of most of these marae was a valuable tool for reference. Paul Tapsell’s thesis about museums and Deidre Brown’s detailed work on Moorehu Architecture were both vital for providing material about the treatment of Maori taonga, including whare in New Zealand museums.

The chapter which focuses on carved whare makes particular use of several sources. There are I think three inceptions all at work in the construction of whare, or in their reconstruction here. The

first is the actual building and carving process. The information for that is provided especially in accounts provided by Elsdon Best and by Makereti Papakura. Papakura has what might be called an uneven press in academic circles. I take a firm stance on this however, she was an intelligent woman deeply immersed from birth in Maori culture, and with her position as a paramount tourist guide in Rotorua was uniquely situated to be given information and insight from local kuia and kaumatua (male and female elders). Her accounts are detailed and important. Best's narratives are the result of his usual copious research and typically both of relying on older descriptions provided by Europeans but also information provided by old Maori.

The second inception within whare is the carving and the old meanings both of those carvings and other forms of ornament used in whare. Professor Hirini Meads was an essential resource. As a carver himself his interest in and enthusiasm for the real act of carving is translated into his academic works. David Simmonds, a researcher who is vastly experienced, provides his own perspective of the specific use of theology as a tool of Maori carvers, particularly when discussing carved pare, or door lintels. This is after all a thesis about Te Ao Maori and some building elements, the pare amongst them, have outsize importance compared to European buildings.

Lastly, there is the modern interpretation of the carvings and the carved whare themselves. We look on things in a different way and with a more academic view than pre-contact Maori ever did. There is a sort of self-reflexiveness to this, we *act* as observers, whereas the original carvers, and those who interacted daily with their houses were *participants*. We can only make commentary on what we think was occurring. So, I make recourse to Roger Neich and Roxana Waterson in particular. Neich is an expert on carving and whare and he writes from a genuinely academic perspective, informed by many many years of incredibly detailed fieldwork and research. I've had the pleasure on several occasions to immerse myself in Professor Neich's original research files, which he so kindly made available. Roxana Waterson's field of research is actually the houses of South East Asia. The affinity, not simply through the antique links we share via our Austronesian kinship but also through a patently similar inception of the house affirms the use of Waterson's work. Her perspective of those houses sheds much light on the relationship of Maori with Whare nui; there is a real belief in kinship and in the ancestral and embodimental natures of the houses.

The penultimate chapter is about ritual on the marae, and there is really no substitute to attending hui, or gatherings, of all kinds. I have been to many hui, for many reasons, in many places. This chapter relies on my own experiences first of all and interestingly, although certainly aware of Anne Salmond's seminal work, *Hui*, most of this chapter was deliberately written before reading that work. There is a perhaps unsurprising concordance between her opinions and experiences and my own. Her work is clearly definitive and even given thirty years of separation, is completely relevant today. This itself speaks to the often conservative nature of ritual and its use in the context of the marae.



These then are the sources for this whakapapa of marae. There were of course many others, some brief, others used as required for specific detail, but there is a kinship between all these sources that mirrors the kinship that I claim here for marae. This is a whakapapa that generically details marae, yes, but all marae are inter-related, some closely, some distantly, but they are all eventually a tribe of their own. An iwi of marae.

Anne Salmond opens her book *Between Worlds* with a commentary about whakapapa which is exactly relevant here, as this thesis attempts to bring the ancestry of marae into being, here in the present:

Ancestors could collapse space-time to become co-present with their descendants, moving from an invisible dimension of experience...into the being of their descendants. A contemporary self as the 'living face' of their ancestor could share their experiences, or act with them in Te Ao Marama (The World of Light).

These genealogical nets joined people to each other and to the other kinds of being in relations of various kinds.<sup>33</sup>

I'm not claiming any such sharing of experiences, but there is a spiritual aspect to marae not well catered for in Western theorisation and Salmond has summed it up. There is an almost indefinable sense to whakapapa that includes the constantly present relationship between the living and the ancestral. A history could never quite capture that essence, but I visualise that a whakapapa can.

### **The end of the beginning**

If what has gone before has been a summary of what this thesis contains, then this last part is a summary of some of the ideas on which this thesis is based. It is my intent to look at the place of the marae, but to do so needs an understanding of how and why the marae is how it is and of what a marae really consists. Marae are not simply an agglomeration of buildings, although this is a standard definition. Marae are places where people gather, where very particular rituals take place and where both buildings and place are imbued with additional dimensions and transcend being simply structures. And may be the most essential single contention I make. Remove the people and strip away the ritual and what remains are buildings – but even those buildings are innate with potential. Those buildings can be reconstituted to another level, fleshed out again by the return of ceremony and people and can themselves return to more complete marae-ness.

Roughly speaking the chapters of this thesis fall into three broad sections. The first section consists of Chapters Two and Three and examines the marae in New Zealand, initially in the period

---

<sup>33</sup> Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds : Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815* (Auckland: Viking, 1997). pg 33.

before European contact, then during the nineteenth and twentieth century when the marae concept was re-forged to create the marae roughly as we know it today.

The second section, Chapters Four and Five, subdivides the modern marae, both by explaining what a marae consists of today and as chapters, by subdividing the centre-piece of any marae, the whare, or house. It examines actual houses in order to relate the ideals of construction to physical places. So, there is a discussion of all the parts of the modern marae, then there are details about the most important part of most marae; Whare whakairo, carved houses.

The last section consists of a single chapter, Chapter Six, which investigates the rituals and reasons for those rituals on a marae, investigating the ways that ritual is utilised in modern gatherings (hui) and how ritual is used to transect life on the marae.

Maori came originally from elsewhere in the Pacific and while this argument is made by others, elsewhere, the first few chapters assume the progress of our ancestors across the great Ocean as they settled virtually every inhabitable scrap of land, coming eventually here to these broad isles. The evidence for such movement is made in a number of ways, some archaeological, some lexical, but the core premise is that Maori came from somewhere and eventually they came here. With them, these first settlers brought survival means and ideas and one of those ideas was the at least incepted form of the marae complex. There is clear evidence that specialist experts or priests – tohunga – survived the journey here. This is provided by the panoply of detailed legends, genealogies and ritual knowledge which would have been beyond the learning of lay folk and which can be related to our surmised homeland of Hawaiki. As well, early legends which clearly detail tohunga reaching New Zealand also support the existence of early marae forms here in New Zealand. While marae never reached the bold vision of the mighty complexes in Tahiti, Hawaii and Rapanui, the case is made here that it was due to a combination of political fragmentation and economic exigencies. I contend that Maori engineering was centred instead on the construction of militaria, the construction of pa sites and of canoes, both vast economic investments for tribes. Continued subscription to many ritual details and the proliferation of a varied priesthood are signs however of the importance of both spiritualism and religion to daily Maori life

After the arrival of Europeans in Maori history however, the uptake of European technology was immediate and it is one of the central contentions of this thesis that the modern Maori marae was the eventual result of combining original Maori ideas with the ideas and technology of colonising Europeans. Marae these days may be defined in several ways and also have their origins in many places.

Marae I suggest can be divided into three broad categories, and how these categories are derived and how divided is discussed at length. Two of those categories may be familiar from other literature about marae – the traditional marae and the urban marae, but the third category is an assertion made here. Likewise, the principal houses on marae can be sub-divided: into those which are found on

traditional and urban marae and those which currently reside in museums. Those particular houses are I believe currently less vivified and while they retain all of the features of their original construction – both physical and meta-physical – they are in a less active state, unfulfilling their potential.

It is hui or gatherings that are the focus of proper marae ceremony and I make a case that without the participation of active celebrants, houses remain unactivated. So, it is the people who utilise a marae and the ways that it is used that partly define it, but more importantly which vivify the house and marae and allow them to achieve their full potential. Not as functional buildings, but rather as interjacences into other manners of thought, into the Maori world – Te Ao Maori. Both the physical house and the marae are constructs of many layers but imbued with spirit, or mauri, from inception – the house in particular has inherited spiritual aspects, which are discussed and elaborated in this thesis. Some of those spiritual aspects involve the transection of literal and metaphysical pathways between analogous gateways and these are also important. Whare and marae do after all exist in physical space but, time and again, I argue that they have other faces and those faces Janus-like are turned in more than a single direction.

At last, many of these paths lead to the central whare, particularly when that house is carved; a Whare whakairo. These houses are, traditionally at least, shaped from before they are built and then again during the process of their carving and then again in the process of their erection. Thereafter they begin a new and even richer life. If they were metal rather than wood, it is true to say they would have been forged and then re-forged – the results are the same. They are however an alloy of materials and mauri – spirit – gifted them from manifold sources. At least so I argue.

There is more here than ever meets the Western eye and layers that are uncompassed in Western philosophy.



## **Chapter Two:**

# **TE WHARE WHAKAOHONGA – The Awakening House**

**Introduction; THE HOUSE IN MYTH AND LEGEND: Maui fishes land out of the ocean; The origin of carving; TANGATA WHENUA: Strangers in a strange land; Transitions - the archaeology of Te Ao Maori; Forming the pa; Reforming the waka; Conclusions**



This chapter considers the arrival of Polynesian people in New Zealand, initially it details some of the myths and legends which Maori used to explain the nascence of the land in which they live. The origin of the Maori people in this land is usually focussed on the arrival in New Zealand of various explorers and colonists on a number of canoes – this is also discussed. These legends are related using European versions of the stories of Maori, as recounted or translated in the mid-nineteenth century. These are oral guides to the placement of the Maori culture into the context of the new environment that New Zealand represented. Discussion follows regarding the particular problems and possibilities presented to would-be colonists upon their arrival in this previously unpopulated archipelago.

As well, this chapter then investigates the archaeological evidence which allows us to trace the origins of the marae complex in New Zealand. Initially from basic house forms, in simple villages through to complex fortification structures, sufficiently large, that although entirely ruinous many remain clearly identifiable to lay-people in the present.

The immediate period of initial European contact is elaborated by utilising early journal accounts, where descriptions are often detailed, are circumspectly recounted and which were the result of a surprisingly long period of encounter with the Maori people. The focus here is on specific details of the houses, villages and fortifications that would form the basis for the modern marae that is central to this thesis. The significance and importance of the waka in the future context of the marae is also detailed here at length.

The proposition made in the course of this chapter is that after arriving in New Zealand with certain architectural principles honed in the Polynesian islands of the South Seas, change and modification were needed to cater for the climatic variation experienced in New Zealand. Other adaptations, combined with the exigencies of survival would place constraints on the way of life of the Maori people as well. Over time, these would combine to create an almost unique set of circumstances and also produce very particular architectural forms, which while unique to New Zealand nevertheless conform to a set of regular ideals enacted elsewhere in Polynesia and detailed in the preceding chapters.

Thus, this chapter completes a framework showing a basic progression of forms to the pre-contact Maori marae, itself still an amorphous and progressing cultural complex, which continued to develop after the arrival of Europeans, whereas marae structures elsewhere in the Pacific were often actually deconstructed and simply abandoned.

## THE WHARE IN MYTH AND LEGEND

### Maui fishes land out of the ocean

When Maori reach New Zealand, they find it is already inhabited. Not as some very modern mythologies have it, by other people, but by other *things*. It is already a place filled with living beings, many with forceful personalities and with distinct ways of life. Some of these creatures they can learn from, others they must kill in order to survive, and yet others live around them, broodingly; powerful or even malevolent. For New Zealand is filled with animals, trees and spirits and the gods and demi-gods have been here since time immemorial - Maori are only newcomers to this place.

When they first land it is far to the north on Te Ika a Maui, the (great) fish of Maui, which is the North Island. This vast fish had been hauled up from the ocean depths by the demi-god Maui, a god who had travelled like the Maori, across the seas, being a god in diverse oceanic realms, from Hawaii to the Cook Islands and now here in New Zealand. Indeed Te Ika a Maui is a fish so huge that its surface is greater than the combined lands of every other Polynesian nation. To the south, another great island is a Land of Jade, Te Wai Pounamu, although some think it is the canoe that Maui used when fishing up the North Island. Regardless, these two antique islands, new to Maori, become the final place discovered by the Austronesians, and more specifically their descendants and the progeny of the Lapitans, the Polynesians. It is New Zealand.

To this place they bring their house, they bring their home and establish a new turangawaewae (place to live). However, with the different ways they must learn and the adaptations that are needed to their technology for the new settlers to survive here, the Maori house is different than those of the other South Sea Islands. It has been transformed, modified and remade with similar materials, but in startling new ways. Maori introduce paradigms virtually undreamt in the past, the Maori forms of the marae and the whare (house) and whakairo (carving).

It was the god Maui tiki tiki a Taranga or Maui from the topknot of Taranga who pulled the North Island of New Zealand, Te Ika a Maui (the great fish of Maui) from the Ocean. Maui's mother Taranga had cut off her topknot to wrap the baby Maui in, as she cast him into the sea, in another tale, reminiscent of the Jewish prince Noah. This is how Te Ika a Maui was fished up by the demi-god, Maui tiki tiki a Taranga:

At last they reach the open sea, and his brothers begin to fish. Lo, lo, they had hardly let their hooks down to the bottom, when they each pulled up a fish into the canoe. Twice only they let down their lines, when behold the canoe was filled up with the number of fish they had caught.



Then his brothers said, “O brother, let us all return now.” And he answered them, “Stay a little; let me also throw my hook into the sea.” And his brothers replied, “Where did you get a hook?” And he answered, “Oh, never mind; I have a hook of my own.” And his brothers replied again, “Make haste and throw it then.” And as he pulled it out from under his garments the light flashed from the beautiful mother-of-pearl shell in the hollow of the hook, and his brothers saw that the hook was carved and ornamented with tufts of hair pulled from the tail of a dog, and it looked exceedingly beautiful.

Maui then asked his brothers to give him a little bait to bait his hook with; but they replied, “We will not give you any of our bait.” So he doubled his fist and struck his nose violently, and the blood gushed out, and he smeared his hook with his own blood for bait, and then he cast it into the sea, and it sank down, and sank down, till it reached to the small carved figure on the roof of a house at the bottom of the sea; then, passing by the figure, it descended along the outside carved rafters of the roof, and fell in at the doorway of the house, and the hook of Maui-tiki-tiki-o-Taranga caught first in the sill of the doorway. Then, feeling something on his hook, he began to haul in his line. Ah! ah! there ascended on his hook the house of that old fellow Tonganui [The grandson of Tangaroa, the God of the Sea]. It came up, up; and as it rose high, oh dear! how his hook was strained with its great weight; and there came gurgling up foam and bubbles from the earth, as of an island emerging from the water, and his brothers opened their mouths and cried aloud.

Maui all this time continued to chant forth his incantations amidst the murmurings and wailings of his brothers, who were weeping and lamenting, and saying, “See now, how he has brought us out into the open sea, that we may be upset in it, and devoured by the fish.” Then he raised aloud his voice, and repeated the incantation called Hiki, which makes heavy weights light, in order that the fish he had caught might come up easily, and he chanted an incantation beginning thus:

“Wherefore, then, oh! Tonganui, Dost thou hold fast so obstinately below there?”

When he had finished his incantation, there floated up, hanging to his line, the fish of Maui, a portion of the earth, of Papa-tu-a-nuku.<sup>34</sup>

How Maui fishes up the North Island points to many things. He is resourceful in the face of adversity and he is respectful of genuine authority and tapu. In the next part of the story he calls on his brothers to wait while he fetches someone to raise the tapu on the fish – however, as soon as Maui has left, they commence cutting it up, with the consequence that the island is now scarred and hilly. As well of course, the land rises above the sea, but pulled up beneath Tonganui’s house. It is a significant detail. Without the house, the land might never have been caught and fished up, and of equal importance, the whare co-exists with the land from the moment of its inception. Turangawaewae and land are one and the same. The whare is rooted in land from the moment it first rises above the waves.

---

<sup>34</sup> George Grey and W. W. Bird, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the Maori as Told by Their Priests and Chiefs*, Illustrated New Zealand ed. (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956). pp 25-7.

## The origin of carving

Whakairo – carving – also came to Maori through ancestors, in this case Ruatēpupuke on the East Coast. There are other stories but I particularly include this one because of its special relationship with the house *Ruatēpupuke II*, which is detailed in later chapters. The nineteenth century tipuna (elder) Mokena Romio related his genealogy and traced it back to Ruatēpupuke, grandson of Tangaroa, god of the sea. The word tipuna can mean either living elders, here for example, or an ancestor. This story was told by Romio, no doubt partly to place or contextualise the house *Ruatēpupuke II*. His version is entirely in Maori, but that shown here is excerpted from a translation by Hirini Moko Mead:

After that Ruatēpupuke languished for his child. This is when he went to his death. When he rushed into the water he dived down deeply and there saw a human village and he saw a house standing there. This was the body of Huiteananui that he saw...When he stood in the porch he peered inside. Now some of the house posts of the wall of the house were talking to house posts on another wall. The house posts of the back wall were talking to the house posts near the door, that is, of the porch. Then he looked up to his child Manurihi who was glaring at him from above the house. [Tangaroa has made Manurihi into a bird likeness, (Maori: ahua Manu – a spirit bird) perhaps a manaia and fastened him to his house presumably as a teko-teko. Ruatēpupuke then determines to set the house on fire as revenge for his son being stolen].<sup>35</sup>

Then Ruatēpupuke took hold of the house posts that survived the fire with his hands, that is, of the house posts of the left wall outside. There were four such posts that he rescued. They came from the silent [speechless] group and he brought them and his child. Had he rescued the talking house posts, carved house posts would still be talking today...

Subsequent carvings were patterned on these from Hawaiki. His grandchildren brought the house posts to this land, New Zealand. [Hingaangaroa, a descendant of Ruatēpupuke and an ancestor of this story's author, Mokena Romio builds a house many years later].<sup>36</sup>

The houseposts brought by Ruatēpupuke were shown to him. Later, he erected a house and attached the houseposts to it. Preserved in that house were the models of the manaia [spirit form], taowaru [raised notch] and many other patterns...The foundation of this house is still there.<sup>37</sup>

Of course the foundations were still there, or at least we should expect that comment. Houses persisted in memory and were kept alive in that way, long after their physical demise. The legend of whakairo, carving, links a very human activity to its divine origins and which was consequently profoundly tapu as a result. The legend's speaking pou, the talking posts, were carved figures, but the

<sup>35</sup> These are my notes here, not those of Professor Meads.

<sup>36</sup> These are my notes here, not those of Professor Meads.

<sup>37</sup> A. T. Hakiwai et al., *Ruatēpupuke : A Maori Meeting House* (Chicago, Ill.: Field Museum, 1994). pp 43-4.

original ones, which were truly capable of speech, were ideal. Their myth represented a level of personification to which carvers aspired; their actions were bent towards the lost ability to fully awaken these ancestors, even bringing them speech. As well, there is the implication that the posts that came to Hawaiki with Ruatēpupuke were as *animated* as those he had heard conversing, but happened to be speechless. They contained a very real life-force, but were mute. This vivification was also something to which carvers aspired.

While these are very particular stories there are many others. Maori scholar, Professor Ranginui Walker has counted over 200 instances of the word ‘house’ in *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*.<sup>38</sup> This is a book that details about thirty mythological stories and which was compiled by nineteenth century New Zealand Governor George Grey.<sup>39</sup> While *Nga Mahi* dates from the mid nineteenth century, its oral origins are obviously far older. Likewise, he counts seventy one references in the course of the memoirs of Nepia Pohuhu, a tohunga of Ngati Kahungunu, who died in the 1880s. Although these were only published in the 1930s, like *Nga Mahi* they pertain to much older stories that had been preserved. Those memoirs consist largely of important genealogical tables, and this association shows a link between the idea of the house and its relationship with genealogy to Maori. Although these descriptions are legendary they contain clues and pointers to a world that remains distant from us. So many references also denote the importance, the place of the house, in Te Ao Maori.

The carved whare clearly existed in the Maori mind, and had done so for so long it warranted frequent and potent mention in what were effectively tribal histories. As well, the process of carving had not sprung up in New Zealand, but had originated in Hawaiki and even prototypical forms had been carried across the ocean, to be resurrected, but many generations later. Presumably in actuality once population, survival factors and technical skills were equitable. For a long time, as the archaeological record shows, houses remained small and simple.

In these stories, part preserved tribal history, part legend; the houses of chiefs are richly decorated. Houses are large and may even contain an entire hapu (sub-tribe). A hapu usually consisted of a number of inter-related families and might even be equivalent to several hundred people. So these are in some way exaggerations of the Maori state of existence at that time, but they imply both ancestral memories of large houses and of marae in Hawaiki. Equally they imply that at least some contemporary houses matched these descriptions in being carved. While it was clearly possible to visualise impossibly huge structures (at least impossible with the technology of that time), these explanations were made in order to place them, to substantiate their meaning.

<sup>38</sup> Ranginui Walker, *Nga Pepa a Ranginui = the Walker Papers* (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 1996). pg 33.

<sup>39</sup> (Governor, Sir) George Grey (1812-1898). One of the greatest characters of nineteenth century New Zealand history, was twice Governor of New Zealand, the second time during the land wars of the 1860s, and also later, Premier (the position now known as Prime Minister in New Zealand). He was fascinated by Maori culture, learning the language and using sources to record oral histories and stories.

To contemporaneous Maori, carving had special origins that emphasised its tapu, but also showed that carvings were spiritually real, and contained the ancestors they represented, metaphorically to the modern mind perhaps, but *actually* to the people who listened to these legends.

But reality had become storied, stories had become myth and myth had become legend. Although Maori carried a way of carving and a way of building with them to New Zealand, the reality of human endeavour was preserved in a mythos that honoured the gods, demi-gods and other supernatural beings for these foundations. The marae and the whare of Maori had clear historical antecedents in other parts of the Pacific and contemporaneous structures elsewhere were amorphous, according to the climate, politics and materials of their own regions. In New Zealand they were adjusted both to circumstance and temporal distance, becoming less Polynesian, and becoming distinctly Maori. Those changes and modifications that made the Maori whare unique are what we investigate next.

## TANGATA WHENUA

### Strangers in a strange land

Maori arriving in New Zealand were the proverbial strangers in a strange land. These days, because of the Maori conquest of this previously uninhabited archipelago, New Zealand is usually regarded as part of Polynesia and so is clustered untidily with the islands of the Pacific. It is however a landmass of a different sort. At one time attached to Australia, eighty million years of separation imposed New Zealand with a biota that was unique, rich and strange.<sup>40</sup>

Geographically, New Zealand is a complete anomaly – the only large continental islands so distinctly separated from a continent. Similar islands like those of Britain, Japan and Madagascar are still physically near the continental land-masses with which they originated. It is the same within the Austronesian arc, where other similar islands include Tasmania and New Guinea; Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Sulawesi; Mindanao and Luzon and of course Taiwan. All of these islands are still relatively close or very close to their associated continents. New Zealand however is a continental island far adrift and its strange bio-diversity reflected this. It had a rich variety of species, but many of these had divergent characteristics seen nowhere else, because of their long separation and isolated evolution.

Sundered then, New Zealand's flora and fauna were characterised at first by their similarity to other parts of Gondwanaland, the earlier giant land-mass to which New Zealand had belonged. Gondwanaland is a projected composite super-continent, consisting of Australia, South America, Antarctica, Africa and other smaller non-continental land masses which existed in the period prior to

---

<sup>40</sup> King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. pp 21-2. New Zealand separated from Australia roughly 80 million years BP

roughly 170 million years BP, thereafter gradually breaking apart. So, flora and fauna from the now widely separated component sections may betray their origins although now far apart geographically. In New Zealand, these similarities are tempered by the differences that have resulted from long separation. In much the same way as marsupials became the dominant animals in Australia, in New Zealand birds become the dominant class. There were many strange evolutions or survivals such as giant birds (moa), giant trees (kauri) and unexpected remnants of earlier times like fern forests or the tuatara. Other flora included nothofagus, the Southern beech, found in South America and Tasmania as well as New Zealand and fossils such as glossopteris whose modern story helped provide evidence for plate tectonics (the geological process by which continents move and land is formed). Land-dwelling mammals however were limited to bats – likely accidental arrivals at first and eventually native species in their own right.<sup>41</sup>

At the time of New Zealand's separation from the super-continent Gondwana, some eighty million years ago, the dominant life-forms across the land were no doubt dinosaurs, just as they were elsewhere across the planet. Sixty-five million years ago the cretaceous extinction opened the way for birds to thrive and fill all the niches freshly vacated by dinosaurs. The mammals that may have left Gondwana with New Zealand were long extinct.<sup>42</sup> So, for all the anthropomorphically empty ages until humans arrived, the islands of New Zealand remained bare of terrestrial mammals. However, sometimes on shore-close islands, sometimes on the mainland there were also thriving colonies of seals and visiting pods of whales.<sup>43</sup>

New Zealand's temperate climate is cooler than that of the remainder of the Polynesian Pacific because of its more southerly position, and there are also other key variations. Most of the islands of Polynesia lie roughly within the tropics and have both consistent diurnal length year-round and moderate temperature deviation summer to winter; New Zealand however has temperate variations. In winter, days shorten considerably and in summer they lengthen, changes which are matched by cooling and warming. In many parts of both islands it can snow down to sea-level and frosts regularly occur south of present day Auckland. The first Maori, who would never have seen snow, had to reuse another word to name it, huka, which means sea-foam. While most native plant species were perennial, introduced species would need to be sufficiently pliable to adjust to these radical conditions. Nor just the introduced food species, the introducers, the Polynesians who were to become Maori, as well.

---

<sup>41</sup> There is some very recent evidence that land mammals did at first survive or exist in New Zealand after splitting from the Australian continental landmass.

<sup>42</sup> There is no fossil proof proving they did, so it seems generally assumed that no early mammals traveled with New Zealand (do however see the previous note). There are however Australian mammalian fossils which pre-date (110 million years BP) the separation and, of course, Antarctica holds her secrets close.

<sup>43</sup> King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. pp 63-4.

In this new land were a potential profusion of food sources. There were huge numbers of large land birds in the form of moa and vast flocks of sea-birds such as the titi (the sooty shearwater or muttonbird), there were pigeons, seals and near-shore fish and shellfish. Moa is a generic term for a number of related species of large, sometimes very large (3-4 metres in height) flightless birds, native to New Zealand, presumed exterminated by Maori sometime before contact with Europeans.<sup>44</sup> However, this was coupled with the fact that introduced species such as yam, breadfruit, coconut, banana and taro were unable to acclimatise and soon largely disappeared. The survivor species were marginally more hardy: paper mulberry (but surviving in a lesser form than that of the tropical islands), the hue or taha (gourd) and kumara (sweet potato) and to some extent in the far North, taro.<sup>45</sup> The kumara thus became the staple carbohydrate source in the north and was likely soon supplemented (or replaced in cooler areas) by cabbage tree hearts and fern-root, the latter being so tough as to actually have a noticeable effect on Maori dental health.<sup>46</sup> In the remainder of Polynesia the introduced meat crops were dogs, pigs and chickens, but here in New Zealand, only the dog survived colonisation.

The exigencies of an uncertain food supply would have three profound effects on the New Zealand lifestyle and also what would become the pa and kainga, fortified village and village respectively, the forebears of the modern marae.

First, difficulties in cropping due to climate would mean that genuinely arable land was at a premium and needed to be protected from others or expanded into against other tribes, as required by population increases. Thus, the defensive pa site would eventually become a notable feature across the northern half of Te Ika a Maui in particular. As well, the largest population centres remained in the most arable areas, with the best climate.<sup>47</sup>

Second, in order to maintain adequate food supplies, especially over winter, a wide range of food sources needed to be utilised, so whole hapu would regularly decamp to temporary villages in order

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. pp 62-3.

<sup>45</sup> Hue is also a common word for this fruit in other Pacific island languages, as is *fue*.

*Kumara*: sweet potato: *Ipomoea batatas*. The kumara or sweet potato eaten generally in New Zealand today are recently introduced varieties which seemingly bear little resemblance to the smaller, less hardy and less prodigious crops which Maori had originally themselves introduced. Kumara are known as *umala* in Samoa and *uala* in Hawaii and these are both clearly analogues of Maori kumara. The word *kumara* is also used in modern-day Peru, which is unsurprising perhaps, given that the origins of the plant are in fact South American, the only Polynesian foodstuff introduced from that side of the Pacific Ocean.

*Taro*: *Colocasia esculenta* (also: *C. Antiquorum*). An introduced root vegetable common to much of the South Pacific and a major source of carbohydrates in most of those societies right to the present. There are a number of varieties and both the root and the leaves are edible.

<sup>46</sup> Geoffrey W. Rice, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992).pg 9. Cabbage Tree: *Cordyline australis*, not of course an actual cabbage tree, but rather named that by Cook (in New Zealand at least) because of the edible portions found in the centre of their crowns. They are in fact a palmate tree, ubiquitous on the landscape in many regions and known in Maori as: ti rakau (ti tree).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. pg 19.

for instance to fish, or to crop. There might be several such kainga utilised by one hapu, supplemented by one pa.

Third, at some point, with the exhaustion of seals and moa as ready protein sources, and with the loss of all but the dog as an imported animal food crop, protein deficiencies may have increased or helped institutionalise the exercise of cannibalism.<sup>48</sup>

The living conditions of relatively early Maori settlers in New Zealand is recorded neatly in the same ways as the earlier Austronesians and Lapitans and even other Polynesians that we have already discussed. It helps make the relationships between the modern Maori people and our ancestors explicit. To New Zealand we carried all our old words, but modified them for new uses where old things no longer existed or new ones begged description. Huka (Fiji and also other islands: fuka) or foam came into use to describe snow, clearly a new phenomenon. What had been the ocean (moana) could describe lakes, and the word for the lagoons of island Polynesia – roto – could likewise be used, so Rotorua (second lake) for instance or Rotoiti (small lake).<sup>49</sup> The huge native moa (Rapanui, Cook Islands and elsewhere: chicken), with no clear equivalent elsewhere were named for the chicken, which had not managed to survive early settlement. Linguistics even point to the canoes that reached New Zealand originating in Tahiti or the Cook Islands, as do legends from Rarotonga and New Zealand really. Professor of linguistics, Bruce Biggs, used the singular example of toloa, the proto-Polynesian word for duck.<sup>50</sup> That meaning was retained in the Marquesas, but modified in Tahitian and Cook Islands Maori to mean the gannet instead. New Zealand Maori uses the same word, toroa, to describe the albatross. The clearest inference to be made from this is that New Zealand was settled via the Cook or Society islands, because the meaning of the word had already changed. A settlement direct from the Marquesas for instance would almost certainly have kept the same word usage.

Like other parts of the Pacific, there is also the evidence of archaeology: post holes, pits and other forms left to us by ancestors; animal remains, objects and even art thrown away, lost or otherwise discarded. The basic design plan of early habitations in New Zealand is shown by excavations that have been conducted at a number of sites around the country and these give us a broad insight into our ancestors lives.

### Transitions - the archaeology of Te Ao Maori

The Western eye, coupled with modern technology, provide other ways of observing the Maori arrival in New Zealand than the legendary stories of Maori. So for instance there is evidence from

<sup>48</sup> There is discussion in the first chapter of this thesis about the eating of kiore, rats. Rats were also introduced but were likely never a major source of protein.

<sup>49</sup> These are well known lakes in the central North Island.

<sup>50</sup> Keith Sinclair, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996). pg 6.



1 – George French Angas - Motupoi Pah and Roto-aire Lake ; Tongariro in the distance (1847).

This shows the basic configuration of a pre-European pa-site, with typical concentric layers of defence, built onto a defensible promontory.

palynology, the study of pollen traces, and archaeology that dates the arrival of Maori in New Zealand to about 550-600 AD, although there is much debate about this.<sup>51</sup> Equally fascinating is evidence that shows that the kiore, the Polynesian rat brought by Maori settlers has a history of approaching two thousand years on these islands. Was there an earlier failed attempt at settlement? The dating of the rats in question are however in dispute.<sup>52</sup> The evidence for population suggests that there was only a slow build-up of numbers over a long period of time. Genetic evidence helps support this; mitochondrial DNA analysis, which traces only female gene lines, indicates a range of a mere 70-190 women involved in original settlement of New Zealand.<sup>53</sup> This guides us to two specific conclusions: first, the colonisation of New Zealand by Maori was planned and purposeful. No accidental discovery

<sup>51</sup> Pamela I. Chester, "Forest Clearance in the Bay of Islands" (Thesis (MA, Anthropology)--University of Auckland, 1986).

<sup>52</sup> E. Matisoo-Smith and J. H. Robins, "Patterns of Prehistoric Human Mobility in Polynesia Indicated by Mtdna from the Pacific Rat," *PNAS*, no. 101 (2004).

<sup>53</sup> David Penny and Anna Meyer, DNA and the Settlement of Polynesia, pp 98-99, in: K. R. Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific* (Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006).



by lost fishing-folk would have included such large numbers of women. Second, with low total numbers and with the obvious difficulty of a newly cooler horticultural climate, total population growth would have been slow.<sup>54</sup>

Maori outside of the warmer north reverted to hunter-gatherer status during the period of exploration and settlement and focussed – at least until those food sources were eliminated – on the mainland populations of seals and moa. As Human Geographer, Professor Jared Diamond puts it, “Only after the first Polynesian settlers had exterminated moas [sic] and decimated seal populations on New Zealand...did they intensify their food production”.<sup>55</sup> In the time between Maori settlement and the landmark arrival of James Cook – signalling eventual colonisation by Europeans – the Maori population continued to expand, but modifying and modified by the natural resources available. While both moa and mainland seal colonies were completely exhausted as food supplies, commensurately, archaeological evidence of the use of the food storage pit, the rua kumara, shows a technical leap that enabled the storage of this key food staple over the winter months. Kumara must be stored in very particular conditions, and the food storage pit (rua kumara), modified over time, allowed the successful storage of this staple during non-growing months. Population however is ineluctably linked to food supply and with limited horticultural options arable land would become a continually more valuable commodity.<sup>56</sup> Thus hapu took increasingly stringent measures to protect their land as population levels possibly reached a rough saturation level. This however took place over the course of hundreds of years. For example, in one of the earliest settled, and always most heavily populated areas, the Bay of Islands, the earliest radio-carbon evidence dates to 720 AD (+/- 56).<sup>57</sup> There is however no supporting evidence until 1400 AD for defensive fortification.<sup>58</sup> For 700 years population pressure was not sufficient to cause active continual conflict.

The evidence for population growth unsurprisingly accords directly to the creation of defended settlements. There are the remnants of literally hundreds of kainga, or villages, on the Pouerua site in Northland, although the number of whare in any kainga remained very small. Fewer than two percent have seven or more whare, nor are these hundreds of occupations contiguous, of course.<sup>59</sup> Over time

---

<sup>54</sup> Jared Diamond deals thoroughly with the idea and rate of population growth amongst farming and non-farming people. Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel : A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years* (London: Vintage, 1998). Particularly pp 104-113.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. pg 110.

<sup>56</sup> Malthus, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition. i.i.25 and i.i.16: “It may be fairly pronounced, therefore, that, considering the present average state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio.” ... “It may safely be pronounced, therefore, that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio.”

<sup>57</sup> Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*. pg 247.

<sup>58</sup> Yvonne M. Marshall, "Antiquity, Form and Function of Terracing at Pouerua Pa : A Thesis Presented to the University of Auckland ... In Anthropology" (Thesis (MA, Anthropology)--University of Auckland, 1987., 1987).

<sup>59</sup> Douglas G. Sutton, "Organisation and Ontology: The Origins of the Northern Maori Chiefdom, New Zealand," *Man* 25, no. 4 (1990).

there are two trends. Distances between the kainga decreased and at the same time the number of inhabitants in kainga increased. Population was clearly swelling. In the period from about 1450-1500 AD five areas were first fortified. Most particularly, earthworks were placed around the volcanic cone that lies at the heart of this population complex, and eventually this fortification would become a massive tiered pa, with three or more rings of palisades.<sup>60</sup> Although population pressure was a certain factor in the construction of pa, they must also be linked to the intensification of horticulture. Pa everywhere, not just at Pouerua, are directly associated with cultivated sites. As well, it can be surmised, the increasing population had led to a more complex stratification of society. Stratification produced a hierarchy housed both separately and differently from the majority of people and able to ordain large-scale construction projects: gardens; storage areas; earthworks; palisades. (Refer to figures 1 and 2).

Evidence regarding the size of houses within these and other similar settlements is equivocal. Explorers were invariably based on ships and with ominously dangerous inhabitants onshore, venturing inland or to major pa-sites was unlikely. So, although we have numerous descriptions from early explorers and visitors I would argue that the houses they generally saw were dwellings in temporary coastal kainga. This really provides an impression of whare at the lower possible end of Maori engineering, design and decorative ability. (See figure 3 for a basic whare interior). Archaeologist, Les Groube tabulated early estimates of house sizes based on the journals of early European visitors, but these are common houses and it is clear from contemporaneous descriptions that some large houses existed.<sup>61</sup> Joseph Banks for instance described a larger whare, some ten metres in length. Maori society was in some ways highly stratified based generally on mana (prestige) and whakapapa or genealogy, by which mana might be inherited. While the highest form of chief were ariki, there was another general level, below ariki, referred to collectively as rangatira. While, common house structures had not changed greatly over time, large houses, those of rangatira, had probably grown in stature and size. This stature, or inherent mana, would have been in the form of both economic and social investment, in some cases by the utilisation of carvings as the basis of the building structure. The process would continue into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the large houses that commonly represent the Whare nui in our minds today flow from these origins.

Similarly, while archaeological evidence is also equivocal in some ways, it is important. Excavations at Pouerua provide a great deal of information regarding the eventual articulation of pa and the interim formation of kainga, at least in the Northland region.<sup>62</sup> This shows in microcosm

<sup>60</sup> Louise Furey, Yvonne M. Marshall, and Doug G. Sutton, *The Archaeology of Pouerua* (Auckland; London: Auckland University Press; Eurospan, 2003).

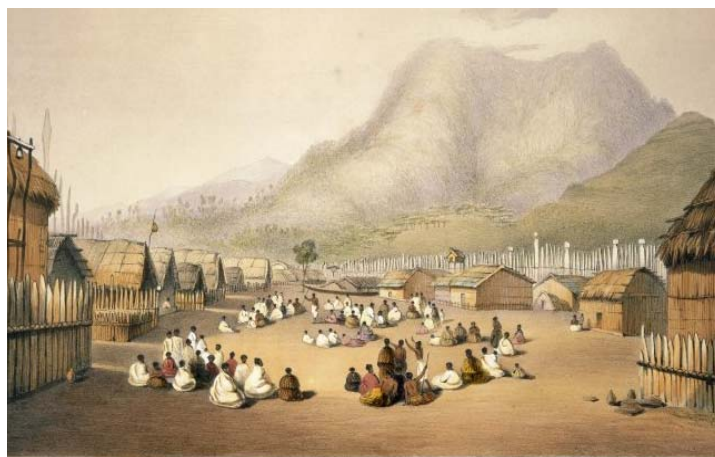
<sup>61</sup> Table not included here.

<sup>62</sup> Furey, Marshall, and Sutton, *The Archaeology of Pouerua*.

what occurred in other horticultural centres across the North Island. Houses which have been excavated are split into two classes, one class of which comprises houses which are elite houses, likely those of rangatira. These dwellings are differentiated by a number of factors: they are always constructed on a made terrace – with a flat open space in front of the house; there is no evidence of food preparation in the area of these houses; they are not constructed subterraneanly; they are always both the tallest and the most elevated houses; they are consistently oriented.<sup>63</sup> What is variable is their size, with a range in length from as much as seven metres to as little as three.

It is obvious that these whare show a relationship with aspects of the marae to be. Perhaps foremost is the cleared space in front of these houses, definitively the marae atea, a sacral area that is integral to the modern marae and which is discussed comprehensively later in this thesis. As archaeologist Douglas Sutton states:

The association ... with made clean open spaces is the domestic prototype of the historic and contemporary marae (meeting ground) and meeting house complex. The proxemic structure of the modern marae is ancient and was present in common domestic settlements before the development of either the Maori marae, as a separate complex, or pa.<sup>64</sup>



2 – George French Angas - Tu Kaitote, the pah of Te Wherowhero on the Waikato, Taupiri Mountain in the distance (1847).

This image shows an open cleared area in a pa, almost certainly a marae atea. The arrangement of the houses and the fences used to segregate them within the greater enclosure of the pa accords with contemporary descriptions.



3 – George French Angas – Domestic sketches (1847).

This gives some impression of the interior of a fairly large whare. Note the (carved) support post in the centre-front, one of the features of the superior houses discussed in this chapter.

<sup>63</sup> Sutton shows that these houses were, at Pouerua at least, aligned to 27 degrees East of true North. The orientation of modern whare is discussed more fully in a later chapter.

<sup>64</sup> Sutton, "Organisation and Ontology: The Origins of the Northern Maori Chieftdom, New Zealand." pg 678.

The ideal of the marae had travelled to New Zealand at the same time as Maori; it had come from Hawaiki and pre-dated any structures that would come to be erected in this new land.

As well, the clearly noa nature of food is evidenced by these Whare rangatira (elite houses) being removed from food preparation areas; in fact, they are situated at a distance from them. There is also no lithic activity, or signs of stone working on the cleared space – which suggests that all noa activities such as mundane work were removed. By extension we can infer that there was no wood-working or other craft activities either. At Pouerua at least there were a number of pa in close proximity, one larger than the others and at the centre of that great pa a marae atea was maintained. It is important to note that the central space of that pa was a tapu space, and especially that there was no provision for a large house there. Although such houses existed, they were not necessarily (or perhaps at all) the focus of Maori spiritual expression in the period before European contact. While we are uncertain of the usage of this space, Sutton chooses to link it to the modern idea of what Maori do on marae:

The open space within appears to have been for korero: the making of speeches; recitation of whakapapa (genealogy), and the expression of unity and schism within the residential group or aggregation of segmented groups, or between that complex entity and others of its kind.<sup>65</sup>

The early carving forms bequeathed by their ancestors and evident in what few pieces of very old Maori art we have had gradually given way to the distinctly curvilinear art that now represents Maori carving, moko (tattoo) and painting. This is evident both in surviving pieces from the immediate period of European contact and from images from that same time. Thereafter, changes in the form, style and manner of Maori carving are related mostly to the innovations prompted by contact with European culture and technology.

### Forming the pa

Pa were an articulation of Maori culture that did not exist for a long time following Maori first arriving in New Zealand.<sup>66</sup> Fortified structures simply do not appear in the archaeological record until after hundreds of years of occupation and the first of these were fairly simple structures. Professor Bruce Biggs has discussed the expansion of ring-ditches, the earliest form of pa, as evidence of a secondary canoe migration out of Northland.<sup>67</sup> Ring-ditch fortifications were a result of increased population pressures and unsurprisingly, the most suitable areas for Maori horticulture and so population growth (Northland and Auckland) would also be the first to face those pressures.

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. pg 681.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. pg 681.

<sup>67</sup> Sinclair, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*. pg 9.

Thereafter, as other population centres also reached initial saturation, as larger population centres sent out raiders and as the technology of the pa and waka spread, the endemic warfare that would become such a feature of Maori life would also spread, and in response pa became increasingly elaborate over time. There is a good analogy with the increase in walled fortifications in response to Viking incursions in Europe.

While protection was provided by pa, the fortified villages, conversely, Waka taua or war canoes became a key military weapon, entirely replacing the double hulled, or outrigger sailing craft characteristic of the rest of the Polynesian Pacific.<sup>68</sup> There are numerous reasons for this change, amongst which are: the concentration on close to shore sea-faring and fishing; concentration on war canoes; lack of impetus for oceanic voyaging. The typical canoe is an open, single hulled vessel, hewn from a single log and with gunnels attached. A large canoe might carry a hundred crew (certainly dozens) and was powered with paddles and additionally in earlier times with the upended triangular sail redolent of Polynesian sailing vessels. Sometimes the phrase Waka toa, or canoe of warriors is used, toa means warrior(s) and also is literally synonymous with bravery and courage. The elaboration of decoration on canoes, as evidenced by Cook, Banks and others can clearly be related to their prestige as objects, the huge economic investment in their construction and lastly to the desire to imbue them with additional mauri (life spirit); to empower them as weapons.

The pa site, usually inaccessible, say on a hillside, is a continued if ruinous presence in New Zealand. There are a number in central Auckland for instance which, although cleared of everything save their now compacted concentric earthworks, are still imposing structures. It has been estimated that there are somewhere between four and six thousand pa sites in this country, almost all in the North Island and 98 percent of them are directly associated with horticultural sites.<sup>69</sup> Pa did not come into being simply as a response to the animosity of other hapu, they were linked directly to population pressure and a reliance on difficult food staples.

The investment of pa was tactically difficult, both because of their inherently defensive construction and because any attacking party had to be supplied entirely by what they could carry with them or scavenge on the way. Large war canoes were thus militarily advantageous as they provided rapid transport, could carry large crews, a hundred men or more on the largest, and provided ample additional supply, including slaves, in the event that a raid was protracted. This military importance was reflected in the prestige nature of Waka taua. They were, at the time of initial European contact, the outstanding expression of Maori carving skill, no doubt for reasons of

<sup>68</sup> The transition away from oceanic and double-hulled craft is discussed by both Ben Finney pp 143-4 and Roger Neich pp 239-243 in: Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*.

<sup>69</sup> Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand*. Recounted in Nga Pepa Walker, *Nga Pepa a Ranginui = the Walker Papers*. pg 32.

displaying mana and equally as a reflection of their value and importance. As well as detailed descriptions, we also have excellent images provided by Europeans from the period of first contact.

While not all pa were built the same – their sheer profusion indicating that many would have been relatively simple structures – the largest were equivalent to huge, walled villages. Internal structures were permanent in nature, built for long-term, regular habitation by a certain proportion of families. The obverse was true in some other instances, with permanent kainga, and pa used only during periods of duress. The protection provided by pa was based on several factors:

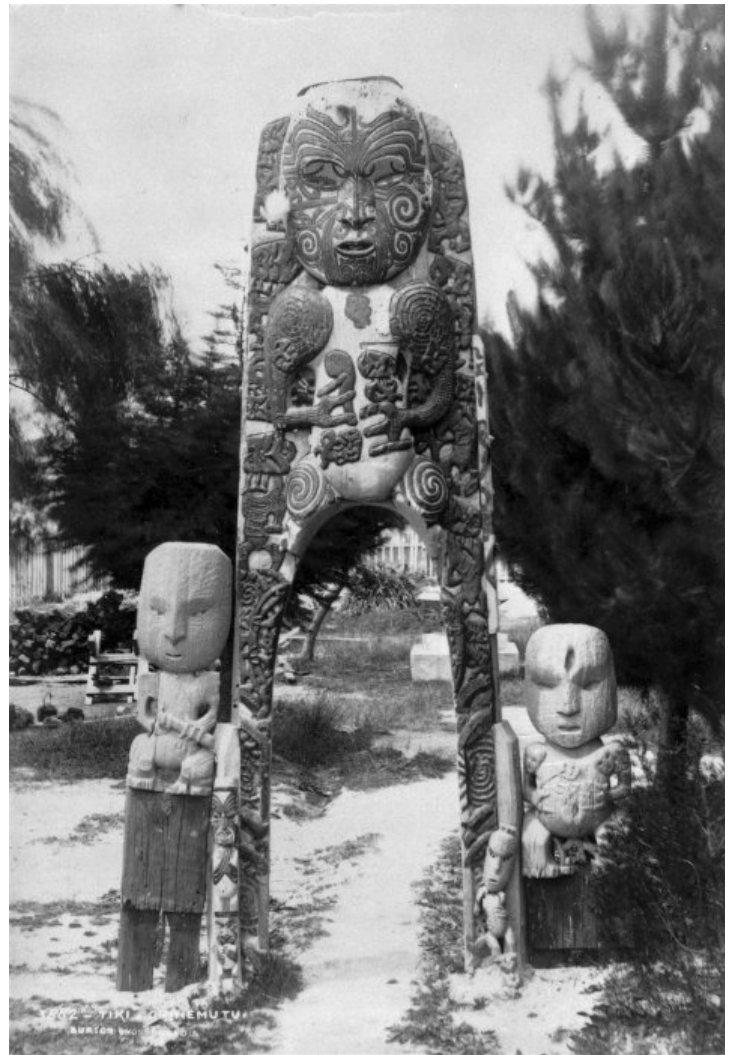
First, adequate time was needed to retreat to the pa itself, and so the common defensive use of watchtowers and warning platforms and in response perhaps the preference in Maori warfare for ambush and surprise attacks.<sup>70</sup>

Second, the pa site itself was chosen for the natural protection provided by the locale, on a steep-sided hill say, or an island.

Third, the presumed inability of attackers to outlast defenders when a pa was besieged; attackers would have had far fewer resources than a fully-stocked pa.

Pa were themselves compounds with several layers of walls and ramparts – seemingly difficult to scale and to pierce, protected by defenders using long stabbing spears, darts and stones.

Although there was variation between pa, the principal elements were much the same.<sup>71</sup> A number of sources are used here, but prominently, Elsdon Best. He makes any number of



4 – Maori wooden carved gateway and wooden figure carvings at Ohinemutu. (ca. 1910).

This kuwaha/waharoa, or gateway has been separated from any palisades and recombined with the two carved figures shown here, but nevertheless provides an impression of a carved gateway.

<sup>70</sup> Best, *The Pa Maori*. pp 103-116.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* pp 103-116.



descriptions in the course of *The Pa Maori* and this section makes a catalogue really of different descriptions – his own and those of other sources. That is coupled with my own experience in visiting the obviously ruinous remains of a dozen or so major pa-sites. They were fortified structures, built usually on promontories or hillsides, or surrounded by difficult approaches, marshland for example. Earthworks, in the form of ditches and sometimes elevated embankments were constructed concentrically, often with two or more rings. On hillsides, these looked like terraces, one above the other. Wooden palisades were erected, using thick stakes placed in carefully excavated holes, the earth then tamped – these were then lashed together with cross-bars. The palisades came in many forms, some at oblique angles, hanging over the moat-like pits below, to make scaling even more difficult.

There were few entrances, and these were often ritually decorated. (Refer to figure 4). The missionary William Colenso for instance, made the following comment about the pa at Te Onepoto, near Lake Waikaremoana, in the Urawera

Mountains, home of the Tuhoi iwi, which he saw in 1841:<sup>72</sup> “The gateway was, as is often the case, embellished with a pair of huge and boldly-carved human figures, besmeared with shining red



5 & 6 – George French Angas - Te Heuheu's old pa of Waitahanui at Taupo Lake. (top, 1847) Photograph by the author of carved figures at the British Museum Storage facility (above, 2006).

Tumu figures can clearly be seen here atop the large posts on the stockade. Also, the huge scale of some pa can be seen by the distance the palisades reach along the lake-shore (top).

While the figure on the right (above) is probably recent, these should give an impression of the kinds of figures used for tumu.

<sup>72</sup> William Colenso (1811-1899), early missionary and printer.

pigment, armed with spears, and grinning defiance to all comers.”<sup>73</sup> The entrances were known as kuwaha, or doorways, and behind these were truncated passages known as waharoa, a word which now generally refers to the gateway itself. The word kuwaha also means mouth, and this is important to note as it refers clearly to two ideas: crossing a threshold in a pa, and in a whare, specifically entering the metaphorical body of the ancestor.

At intervals around the walls were situated carved figures – their presence helping ward against attackers. (See figure 6). These were carved at the top of some posts and essentially stood above the level of the picket. Reverend William Yate made this description in 1835: “About every six feet, an image of the most frightful description, and carved with much art, is placed, with a patu, a native weapon, in his hand, in a threatening posture, grinning at the enemy, to scare him away.”<sup>74</sup> While WH Skinner stated: “with here and there larger posts, named tumu, prepared with more care, and which projected above the line of palisades, being carved with conventionalised human figures of the ordinary kind, hideous in appearance.” The posts known as tumu, also known as himu, and were posts used in a stockade that were often carved at their top. A pa in kawakawa was thoroughly described in the 1836-9 accounts of the *Venus*, a French frigate sailing in New Zealand waters, stating that: “Others of the heads are painted in many colours and are tattooed in imitation of those of the natives”<sup>75</sup>

The anthropomorphic representation found at the gateways and on the palisades is important to note for several reasons:

First, they have an obvious similarity to the warding figures round the outside of Hawaiian heiau, and in fact the tumu (or himu) of New Zealand were in Hawaiian heiau known as paeumu or ‘fence of images’, pae means border or barrier in the Maori language.<sup>76</sup> Actually there are many cognates between ritual used in forming both heiau and pa as well. And, the use of the word tumu/himu is no mere coincidence of use, himu in particular has only one meaning. The meaning or ideal usage of that word was retained through several centuries of settlement in New Zealand, presumably without being used to describe himu in defensive perimeters (which did not exist).

Similarly, there is a cognate between the word *pa* in Hawaiian and Maori, where the word is used to refer to defensive structures in both instances. Also in Rapanui, a little used alternate term for the

<sup>73</sup> W. Colenso, *Memoranda of an Excursion Made in the Northern Island of New Zealand in the Summer of 1841-2: Intended as a Contribution Towards the Ascertaining of the Natural Productions of the New Zealand Groups, with Particular Reference to Their Botany* ([Hobart?]: Tasmanian journal of natural science, 1845). Pg 366 – 23<sup>rd</sup>? December 1841., transactions, [http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz\\_27/rsnz\\_27\\_00\\_003020.html](http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_27/rsnz_27_00_003020.html) 23<sup>rd</sup>? December 1841, pg 366

<sup>74</sup> William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island*, 2nd ed. (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835). pg 122.

<sup>75</sup> Best, *The Pa Maori*. pp. 370-1.

<sup>76</sup> Kamakau Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961). pp. 154-55.



ahu (the temple mounds) was pa-ke-o-pa, referring particularly to ahu which held moai – this is mentioned by Chauvet.<sup>77</sup>

Second, we have little corroborative European evidence regarding carved poupou in the interior of houses. The tumu figures were in fact representative of ancestors – and I believe that they were one of the early forms of the ancestor figures later found in the interior of Whare whakairo, turned inward though, in the whare. Best makes this comment regarding tumu: “Such figures were usually named after male ancestors of the clan folk residing in the fort.”<sup>78</sup> While Hari Hemara of Ngati Maniopoto stated: “The taller posts, with a tekoteko ... carved on their upper parts were known as pou matua [parent posts]. These were named as the carver and donor of the post thought most conducive to their mana and dignity. It might be given the name of an ancestor, or chief of a friendly clan.”<sup>79</sup> These figures, these tumu or himu are iterations of ancestors in the same way as poupou, but turned out, to protect against attack, to ward pa, to terrify attackers.

The central interior of a pa was filled with houses, often or even usually laid out in orderly sections and in front of these was maintained a marae atea. The descriptions of groups of whare, segregated by purpose are straightforward. John Nicholas for instance mentions a pa he visited about 1814: “Before each hut was an enclosed space, resembling a court yard, in which was a shed or out-house, employed by the inhabitants...”<sup>80</sup> Crozet, discussed another pa that he had seen in 1772, “The savages eat their food under these sheds and never take a meal inside the house”. As well however as all the regular houses, might be important, specialist whare: “On the upper terrace would be the council house, used also as a guest’s house, besides the houses of the principal families of the pa.”<sup>81</sup> And if these were probably decorated, so in fact were many common whare, as in an unoccupied pa visited by Dieffenbach in the 1830s, “I had leisure to examine it, and found most of the houses ornamented with carvings” and also: “In some boxes which stood upon poles were the

<sup>77</sup> This really leads to a discussion on the origins of the word pa:

“Polynesian linguistic specialist Steven Roger Fischer states, “Chauvet and a few others use ‘pakeopa’ but the source for this word is a puzzle. It makes no sense in Old Rapanui. It is missing word separation ... Maybe it’s “pá ké ‘o pá” and means “it’s a different kind of ‘pá’”, a “different kind of ahu”. But this is only an educated guess. The ‘word’ does not appear in any of the dictionaries or lexica, so it is probably a phrase, not a word. But its early transcription is just too ambiguous to make a solid call. My feeling is that, walking about, the Rapanui were simply telling their guests, ‘this is another type of pá (ahu), and this is a different kind of pá, and then this yet another kind of pá’ ad infinitum. ... ‘Pá’ is pan-Polynesian, from Proto-Polynesian \*pá that means ‘enclosure, pen, corral, sty, weir, artificial construction of some sort’ (cf. Hawaiian pá and Māori pá). It could be that Old Rapanui pá was also used to denote an ahu, in a generic, rather than a specific, sense”. (Steven Roger Fischer, personal communication, 2003). <http://www.chauvet-translation.com/preface-orig.htm>

<sup>78</sup> Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 62.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. pg 87.

<sup>80</sup> John Liddiard Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand Performed in the Years 1814 and 1815, in Company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain of New South Wales* (London [England]: Printed for James Black and Son, 1817).pg 174.

<sup>81</sup> WH Skinner, quoted in: Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 192.

bones of children and adults, deposited here as their final resting-place.”<sup>82</sup> The interment of the dead and indeed the other ritual and mystical practices of the Maori were all contained within the precincts of the pa. Such sacred areas were known as wahi tapu, and might contain the dead, or other things of a spiritual or ritual nature. “Near the residence of the *tohunga*, or priest, was a small enclosure [the wahi tapu] fenced around with high posts, in which was an erection called *Te Pou tapu*, in the form of a canoe, and fixed in the ground. This was the sacred place of the pa, the *tuahu tapatai*, sacred altar”.<sup>83</sup> (See figures 7, 8 and 9, below).

We know little about tuahu. They appear to have been fairly analogous to Cook Islands *arae*, consisting usually of erected stones, in a sacred area – the stones representing *atua*. There were also sacred posts (*toko*) and Williams suggested that the enclosure contained a mound.<sup>84</sup> While tuahu were sacred areas found outdoors some tapu ceremonies were conducted indoors in a sacred building, this building known as an *ahurewa*. The linguistic link between tuahu and *ahurewa* should be obvious; the root in each is *ahu*, Maori for mound, and of course the name of the sacred platform mounds from Rapanui. Tuahu could also be used to designate tapu occupation, for instance altars being erected by each of the chiefs Tia and Ngatoroirangi around Lake Taupo to designate possession, shortly after their arrival in New Zealand.<sup>85</sup> Both had come from Hawaiki, so the establishment of tuahu was clearly a defining ceremony. While some may have been found in pa, others were located in positions deemed to be tapu, for whatever reason. Richard Taylor (1855) remarks about Wahi tapu, or sacred places nearby Taranaki pa: “In them the tuahu, or native altar, the toko and the pataka, or stage for offerings to the gods, were placed”<sup>86</sup> Toko were special poles erected in sacred areas such as tuahu and used in ritual, an idea echoed by Maori prophets in later years.<sup>87</sup> He is confusing us by referring to pataka, or (food) storage houses as ritual offering stages. Stages deserve a mention here since they were in fact a key portion of the architecture of the original pa, prior to the introduction of guns, and are mentioned repeatedly by early explorers. There appear to have been two main types, sometimes confused in the descriptions. First, food drying platforms, erected on stilts. Second, defensive towers used for throwing stones and spears down on attackers and as watchtowers. When seen in combination with the tumu figures, defensive towers are immediately and obviously alike to 'anu'u

<sup>82</sup> Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand : With Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of That Country* (London: Murray, 1843). Volume I, pg 364.

<sup>83</sup> WH Skinner, quoted in: Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 193.

<sup>84</sup> Herbert W. Williams and New Zealand. Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Maori Language., *A Dictionary in the Maori Language*, 7th / ed. (Wellington [N.Z.]: GP Books, 1985).

<sup>85</sup> The Pouakani Report, 1993, Waitangi Tribunal.

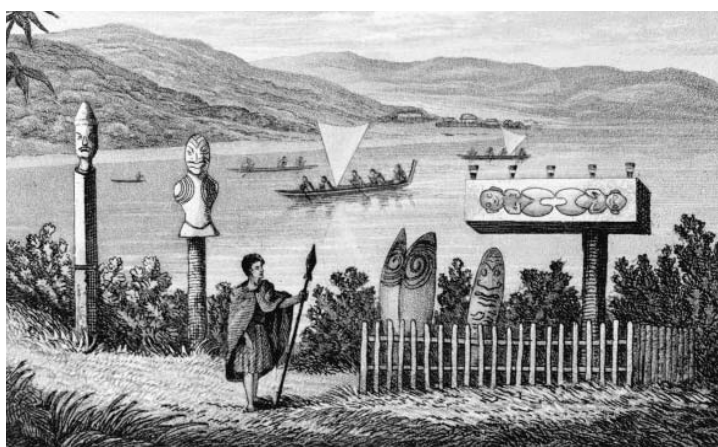
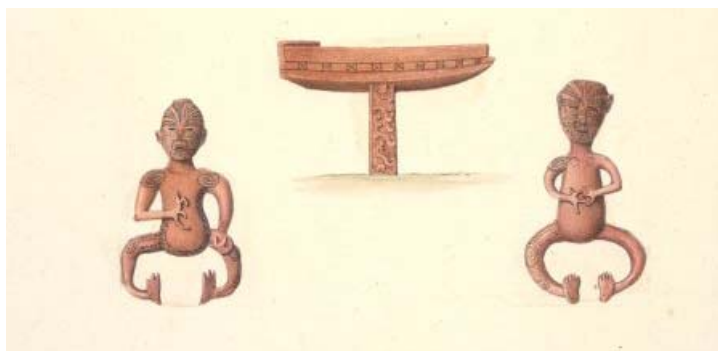
<sup>86</sup> Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or, New Zealand and Its Inhabitants : Illustrating the Origin, Manners, Customs, Mythology, Religion, Rites, Songs, Proverbs, Fables, and Language of the Natives : Together with the Geology, Natural History, Productions, and Climate of the Country, Its State as Regards Christianity, Sketches of the Principal Chiefs, and Their Present Position : With a Map and Numerous Illustrations* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855). pg 101.

<sup>87</sup> Dr Deidre Brown actually enumerates the niu, or ritual poles built for some Maori prophets in her thesis, *Moorehu Architecture*: Deidre Brown, "Moorehu Architecture" (Thesis (PhD Architecture), University of Auckland, 1997).

the tall, kapa cloth covered towers in heiau. The likeness in fact is unmistakeable as evidenced by so simple a thing as comparing images. It is another architectural feature which seems to have survived through hundreds of years of occupation without use.

Wahi tapu were not the only cosseted areas however. If not sacred in the same way, the marae atea was certainly accorded great respect. Crozet wrote in 1772: “The space which divides the two rows of houses ... serves as a sort of parade ground, and extends the whole length of the village. This parade ground is raised about a foot higher than the surrounding ground...no grass is to be seen on it, and the whole place is kept extremely clean.”<sup>88</sup> WH Skinner, described the pa of Otumatua: “...on the flat summit, which measures about fifty yards by twenty yards, was also situated the marae, or open plaza of the town, where meetings of the tribe were held to discuss important questions: where guests were received, and returning war parties were welcomed; and all important functions were held.”

While all of these descriptions are of the physical, there were other elements to the pa which were of a more ritual nature. These included all the panoply of powhiri (greetings ceremonies) and wero (challenges to visitors), hui (meetings) and the various religious rituals, particularly funerary ones



7, 8, 9 – Canoe shaped altars. Antoine Chazal, Tombeau, Idoles [Tomb, Idols] (top, 1824); Joel Polack, Cemetery or wai tapu in the River Hokianga (middle, 1838); Sydney Parkinson, An Ewharra no Eatua, or House of God. (Tahiti, July 1769).

The top and middle image (above) both show the canoe shaped altar described from tuahu. The third image (bottom) shows a similar altar from Tahiti. Although not pictured, actual waka, or parts of waka were also used as part of the display for some interred rangatira

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in: Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 129.

(tangi), which might take place. Most of these are dealt with in more detail, relating to the modern marae, in later chapters. However, the consecration of the pa often included the interment of a sacred stone, known as a whatu under one of the large posts of the pa. Some unsurprisingly were pounamu, as evidenced for instance by Kimble Bent, describing one in 1866 from Otapawa pa in James Cowan's *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*.<sup>89</sup> Pa had their own mana, as do marae and Whare whakairo, first formed by the selection of the wood in the forests, and its revivification in the walls. While some of the mauri, or spirit, imbued came originally from the trees, some was imbued by the directing tohunga of building and the remainder accrued as the pa successfully guarded its inhabitants.

Mauri has a number of meanings, in this case meaning the essence or life-spirit of something. There is a related word, wairua, which has the meaning of soul, so it might be suggested that these wooden objects have a living essence, but not in their raw state a soul. As Frederick Maning, writing in the 1860s described: "A fortress often assailed but never taken has a mana, and one of a high description too. The name of the fortress becomes a *pepeha*, a war boast or motto, and a war cry of encouragement or defiance".<sup>90</sup> The mauri however was concentrated in the whatu-stone (which was also unsurprisingly known as a mauri), as Tuta Nihoniho stated: "A superior fort had its mauri, just as a superior canoe had ... The mauri was located at the ahurewa or elsewhere, often concealed somewhere at the sacred place of the fort ... It was the soul and life of the place."<sup>91</sup> These are all details which have great import for later discussions on Whare whakairo and the carvings that compose those houses.

The word whatu itself refers simply to a stone, but particularly to stones swallowed by tohunga during their initiation.<sup>92</sup> But equally important to an understanding of the true meaning of this word is its use to describe ritual victims killed during the consecration of important whare, those victims also being called whatu. It is easy to see an analogy between human, pa and whare as, like the tohunga, the pa or the Whare nui also swallow the whatu into their depths.

Maori were also certain of the relationship between their own religious spaces – tuahu – and those of their ancestors and presumably relatives in Hawaiki. They confirmed the direct link by affirming ties; according to tradition whatu stones and soil were transported from Hawaiki to New Zealand and then formed the basis of several known tuahu.<sup>93</sup> This was a way of instantly forming ahi ka, or authority to occupy land, the authority that had been wielded by rangatira and tohunga in Hawaiki being replicated by mystical means, quite possibly to circumvent parallel claims from other

<sup>89</sup> James Cowan, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent : A Story of Wild Life in the New Zealand Bush* (London [England]: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1911). pg 59.

<sup>90</sup> Frederick Edward Maning, *Old New Zealand : Being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times* (London: Smith Elder, 1863). pg 227.

<sup>91</sup> Quoted in: Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 147.

<sup>92</sup> Williams and New Zealand. Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Maori Language., *A Dictionary in the Maori Language*.

<sup>93</sup> Paul Tapsell, "Taonga : A Tribal Response to Museums" (Thesis (PhD), University of Oxford, 1998., 1998). pp 58-60.

peoples being pushed aside from previously ‘unoccupied’ lands. There is an irony here, a kind of Maori legality or legitimacy that equates in some ways to the European concept of Terra Nullius; the empty land, used in effect to deprive ‘natives’ of ownership. In this case, simply any prior Maori settlers.

The pa, as Maori would understand it, was one of the ancestors of the marae to be, and like many such tipuna (ancestors), they had a brooding, more powerful strength than we do today. More prosaically however, they can be related in physical, tangible ways to the marae of the present. In fact, all the basic elements of what have come to be the marae were evident in pa. Gateways and pathways; a marae atea; segregated specialist houses; a burial region; carved figures, these last reincapsulated later to their fullest extent in Whare whakairo.

Contemporaneous with the pa was its maritime offensive equivalent. While the pa had risen as a defensive measure to protect precious resources, the Waka taua or war canoe had become a mode of transport aimed most importantly to counter the pa. These waka were not simply means of transport however, they had a history which bound them directly to the whakapapa and legendary foundations of iwi (tribes). They had a meaning which transcended their military utility, and they were also one of the most important expressions of mana. So, the next section discusses the place of waka within Maori society.

### Reforming the waka

While we cannot be sure of the vessels that Maori arrived on when reaching New Zealand, they were almost certainly (very) large double hulled sailing vessels, similar to those depicted by Europeans when they first visited other Oceanic societies, such of those of Tonga and Tahiti for instance.<sup>94</sup> (See figures 10 and 11). There is much argument about how and when the voyages of exploration took place amongst the various islands of the Polynesian triangle, however, the most likely craft were large double-hulled canoes, using sails, crewed by expert navigators and with a compliment of settlers. However, the usage of such vessels certainly declined over time in New Zealand and the best evidence we have of their continued existence in any form is probably a singular image from the brief encounter of Abel Tasman and his crew with South Island Maori. While the images from Cook’s voyages show occasional sails and some linked canoes, those drawings usually show single hulled, often decoratively carved canoes of varying sizes, some very large. Although capable of sea voyages – for instance between the North and South islands – these were not the oceanic craft of older days but something entirely different.

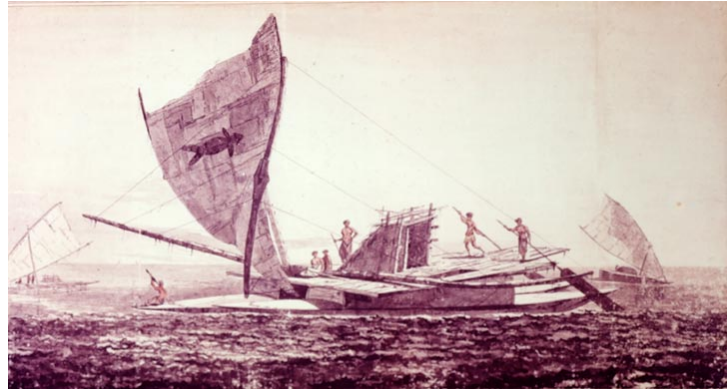
---

<sup>94</sup> Roger Neich in: Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. pg 239. Also pp 102-197, where Ben Finney provides an excellent treatment of this subject.



We cannot be sure of when the first highly specific Waka taua were built but can draw direct analogies with the modification and intensification of pa-sites that took place from the fifteenth century onwards. It is possible I contend that Waka taua did not exist before the time of the pa. Pa are a defensive reaction to (potential) raids, which could of course come either by land or by sea. The formation of at least some pa would have begun soon after, and been in reaction to, the introduction of any maritime raiding innovation, such as swift, deadly, troop transports. Naval warfare in the Pacific Islands as is discussed below was waged somewhat differently. If waka taua had existed throughout the period of Maori occupation, then pa-sites would also have existed. Over time, the size of canoes increased in order to cater for larger crews, as the technology improved, as populations continued to increase and as a visible enhancement of mana. So Waka taua were I believe formed in reaction to pa, or at least arose in conjunction with them.

Large Waka taua, war canoes, had a specific *basic* purpose – as troop transport vehicles. (See figure 12). They were far too large to have made efficient fishing vessels and were not useable for engaging on water. Waka are long and proportionately very narrow, and are not stable platforms for sea-warfare; for instance the canoe *Toki a Tapiri*, currently held in the Auckland War Memorial Museum is 85 feet in length by a mere 6 in width. By contrast, double-hulled canoes in Tahiti (and Tonga and Hawaii) were often used specifically for naval warfare, detailed in early European descriptions. It is also certain, from descriptions, from observation and from discussions with navigators from the Pacific islands, that similar large sailing vessels were used amongst the Pacific



10 – William Hodges - Tonga Tabu (Tongatapu) or Amsterdam. (1774).

From Cook's third voyage. Tongan Ocean-going double canoe, showing a characteristic large deck across the two hulls. Note the inverted Polynesian sail.



11 – William Hodges – War Canoes of Otaheite. (Tahiti) (1774-5)

These are Tahitian war canoes, seen during Cook's third voyage. Although the double canoe nature and platforms are radically different from Maori waka, other features accord neatly, such as the high prows and the efflorescent decoration.

islands for long-distance voyaging. Many double-hulled canoes were however specifically military, although most were similar to regular canoes in basic design. Johann Forster, Cook's naturalist on his second voyage for instance commented on a naval review he observed in Tahiti in 1772:

We counted no less than one hundred and fifty-nine war-canoes, from fifty to ninety feet long betwixt stem and stern. All these were double, that is, two joined together, side by side, by fifteen or eighteen strong transverse timbers ... When they are so long, they make a platform fifty, sixty, or seventy feet in length ... A fighting stage was erected towards the head of the boat, and rested on pillars from four to six feet high, generally ornamented with carving ... The rowers sat in the canoe, or under the fighting-stage ... The warriors were stationed on the fighting-stage to the number of fifteen or twenty. ... In each canoe we took notice of vast bundles of spears, and long clubs or battle-axes placed upright against the platform; and every warrior had either a club or spear in his hand. Vast heaps of large stones were likewise piled up in every canoe, being their only missile weapons. ... A few of them were seen, on which banana-leaves were very conspicuous; and these the natives told us were to receive the killed, and they called them e-vaa no t'Eatua, "the canoes of the Divinity."<sup>95</sup>

The fighting platforms, the differentiation between rowers and warriors, the arsenals and the ancillary canoes for the dead all directly relate to the use of force on water, and these are all crucial differences with the Maori war canoe. (See figure 11). The Waka taua was a weapon to be used in assaulting pa or other settlements, but by carrying (many) soldiers swiftly over relatively short distances.<sup>96</sup> So, Cook's description of Maori canoes portrays vessels which have lost their utility as naval craft, but suit their new role entirely:

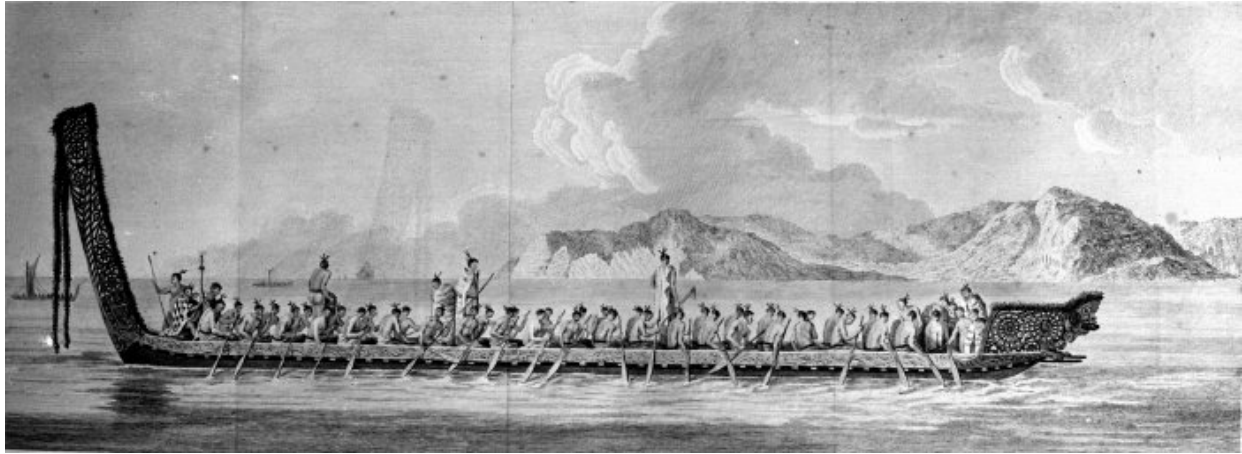
their Boats or Canoes the[y] are long and narrow and shaped very much like a New England Whale boat ... Their paddle[s] are small light and neatly made they hardly ever make use of sails at least that we saw and those they have are but ill contrived being generally a peice of netting spread between two poles which serve for both masts and yards.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy : Especially On :1. The Earth and Its Strata, 2. Water and the Ocean, 3. The Atmosphere, 4. The Changes of the Globe, 5. Organic Bodies, and 6. The Human Species* (London: Printed for G. Robinson, 1778). Volume I, pg 355.

In Maori e-vaa no t'Eatua would be: Te Waka o te Atua (the canoe of the god), essentially the same words, with only differences in phonetic spelling and pronunciation intervening. It should be noted that it is clearly a singular reference, not a plural, so only a single god is being referred to – perhaps the god of war, or possibly the god of the sea as the deaths occur over water.

<sup>96</sup> Roger Neich in: Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. pg 240.

<sup>97</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. Description of New Zealand. pg 61.



12 – Sydney Parkinson – A war canoe of New Zealand, with a view of Gable End Foreland. (1770).

This large Waka taua was seen during Cook's first visit to New Zealand, and shows Parkinson's exquisite eye for detail. As with the Gilseman's image (see below, from Tasman's voyage), the low level of the main hull is obvious, visible below the gunnels. These strakes are carved but not perforated. Both the prow and stern are entirely carved, and are perforated – the prow (tauihu) is of the pitau type, which can be discerned from the twin pitau spirals and the front facing figure, with tongue outthrust and arms spread back.

These are the largest of Maori vessels, and the ability to traverse deep ocean had also long been lost with the change in nautical expression. Joel Polack, writing in the 1830s made the change explicit: "Outriggers, invariably made use of by the South Sea Islanders, are unknown in New Zealand, and canoes are never or rarely lashed together; nor are platforms raised over the gunwales, and sheds erected on them, as is the usage of the above nations."<sup>98</sup> And it is also clear from his descriptions that they were not suitable for deep-water sailing: "It is necessary that a canoe be well caulked, as they roll very much, the gunwales at times even with the water. They are found navigating every part of the coast, carefully hugging the shore."<sup>99</sup> And: "A canoe can be propelled seven and eight miles an hour, but sailing they are only enabled to proceed before the wind; beating against a head sea or adverse wind being impossible."<sup>100</sup>

Maori may have discarded their long-distance sea-faring vessels for a combination of reasons: low level of population; lack of resources in a(n initially) subsistence economy; attrition of expertise over time; desire to explore met on land; desire to become deified ancestors met by ranging on land; dramatically different sea conditions for local use. We can add to that list the rise of the Waka taua itself, particularly as an economic and social investment. These are basically the antithesis of Peter Bellwood's suggested causes for the Lapitan extension across the Pacific. Bellwood lists seven causes for the Lapitan oceanic exploration expansion amongst which are - population growth; an agricultural

<sup>98</sup> J. S. Polack, *New Zealand : Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures During a Residence in That Country between the Years 1831 and 1837* (London: R. Bentley, 1838). pg 224.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. pg 224.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. pg 224.



economy; maritime expertise; a desire to explore and a desire to become a deified ancestor.<sup>101</sup> All of these factors are either met by the large tracts of unexplored, uninhabited land found in New Zealand, or are obviated by the change in circumstances created by the living conditions on these new islands. This was not a contraction of exploring, but a change in mode; all the old reasons to move on to new islands using large, well-equipped sailing vessels could be met by walking somewhere else. Although the same impetuses were working in Maori society, they were transformed by a physical environment unique in the broad Pacific, the continental type islands of New Zealand. Maori, like the Lapitans before, also expanded, and because of the conditions in New Zealand they did so slowly. While they lost their oceanic sailing skills, nevertheless the great importance of the waka was maintained as a cultural ideal. Waka I contend were intimately linked with Maori culture at many levels.

Maori society, this thesis argues, is a house society, in the sense meant by Claude Levi-Strauss. But Maori society was also a canoe society, a society in which the aspects of the *house* were asserted also, or even instead, by the *canoe*. Amongst the attributes of house societies that relate directly to waka are: their relationship to kin-systems; the use of symbols showing rank; their construction using prestige materials and their monumentality; their connection with inherited heirlooms and elements of rank; and the explicit reference to the waka as a social unit.<sup>102</sup> So, it is important to note that the basic division amongst Maori is actually by waka, as Raymond Firth noted:

*Waka:*

‘a group of tribes whose ancestors formed the crew of one of the famous canoes of the fourteenth century’

*Ini (Tribe):*

‘a number of related hapu’

‘members of each being able to trace their descent back to the common ancestor of all’

*Hapu (Subtribe):*

‘an ambilateral descent group formed of several whanau’...‘generally compris[ing] at least several hundred members’

*Whanan:*

‘the extended family or Grossfamilie’

<sup>101</sup> Bellwood (1996) in: Simon Best and New Zealand Archaeological Association., *Lapita : A View from the East* (Auckland, N.Z.: New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2002). pg 98.

<sup>102</sup> All the attributes of house societies are discussed later – these are some of those attributes which can be linked to the conceptual waka and are summarised from Levi-Strauss in: Alfredo González-Ruibal, "House Societies Vs. Kinship-Based Societies: An Archaeological Case from Iron Age Europe," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, no. 25 (2005).

*True family:*

‘father, mother and individual offspring’<sup>103</sup>

These relationships are much the same now as they were in traditional Maori groups. Intertwined with the idea of these tribal groupings is also the principle of senior or junior descent within whakapapa as well. Senior lines are the most important and the highest ranked. The senior heads of iwi are and were Ariki, of whom there are really very few – it is also probably correct to say that there is a slight sense of sacredness to Ariki as well. Their innate tapu is like an invisible but ever-present mantle. Rangatira may be equated partly to the idea of an aristocracy, but with the proviso that most tribal groups were headed by Rangatira. Lastly, there is the ideal of turangawaewae, or the place to which individuals belong. Ariki and rangatira must assert their seniority not simply by birth, but by an act of ahi ka; they must be active within their rohe, their traditional tribal boundary.

When describing relationship, during speeches or when introducing yourself in Maori society, invariably the waka is of primary import, although these days iwi may be more commonly known. These orations are known in Maori as whaikorero (speeches) and mihi or acknowledgements, often now used referring to the recitation of genealogy. All iwi are however related to singular waka – so for instance the ancestors of both the Te Arawa and the Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi came originally on the Te Arawa waka, while Ngati Kahungunu and Kai Tahu iwi both came on the Takitimu waka.

There are two meanings at work here, a literal one, where there is a legendary belief that there were a certain number of *named* originating canoes which arrived variously and colonised specific parts of New Zealand. As well, there is the concept of the waka descent group, all of the descendants of the original settlers who arrived on those canoes. Over time, these original settlers broke into tribes, often named for an eponymous ancestor. For instance, according to some versions the Captain of the Takitimu waka, Tamatea-arikinui had a grandson known as Kahungunu, for whom the iwi Ngati Kahungunu are named.<sup>104</sup> It accords even more neatly when it is noted that in some legends it was actually Kahungunu’s father who was Tamatea-arikinui’s grandson, and that he was a famous explorer, known sometimes as Tamatea-pokaiwhenua, or in English: Tamatea who explored *the land*. This fits together with Bellwood’s theory of the desire to become a deified ancestor.

Waka which have long since become irrelevant to the daily lives of Maori, nevertheless exert an influence on kinship ties that continues to the present. To return to Levi-Strauss, the waka acts as a kinship unit – the eponymous waka – to which iwi members refer. It also affects kinship systems, both by bonding disparate iwi to a notional greater kin-entity (referring here to Firth) but also by

<sup>103</sup> Raymond William Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 2nd ed. (Wellington [N.Z.]: Govt. Printer, 1972).

<sup>104</sup> Arikinui – Maori: Ariki, nui. English: Great High Chief, or even Sacred High Chief.

relating close hapu through the important medium of genealogy. Whakapapa or genealogy in Te Ao Maori remains of paramount importance when negotiating positions on marae.<sup>105</sup>

Waka could designate rank and did so in all sorts of manners and one of these ways could be indirectly by whakapapa. So, while there might be many ancestors designated as original mariners, or while all kin-groups could claim descent from a particular ancestral waka, only some were descended from senior members of that original waka: the captain and navigator (tohunga), their wives or other important individuals.<sup>106</sup> So for instance the Te Arawa waka had both a famous ariki, Tamatekapua, as its captain and also a famous tohunga, Ngatoroirangi, as its navigator, the latter actually kidnapped from another great canoe.<sup>107</sup> Senior lines descended from these individuals were accorded more mana by whakapapa, and so were designated with higher natural, or senior, rank. Maori society was organised into ramages and these were related specifically to the senior lines present on the originating waka. The position of individuals was to some large extent pre-ordained by the ancestral waka and figures its prominence in social hierarchy.

In a more literal sense, waka were a dramatic economic investment and their creation, decoration and display certainly denoted mana. This mana derived from having the economic capability to produce a large waka, a finely decorated waka or best yet, the combination of both of these. Commensurate with these was the mana of the large number of warriors such a canoe might carry, derived from the ability to gather and 'wield' so many toa together. Waka were trans-generational repositories of mana and a large, elaborately carved waka could presumably be inherited within the family of a rangatira, for some generations after initial construction. In the same way that pa built up mana over time, a waka would likely accrue greater mana of its own – that mana related directly to and enhancing the prestige of its owner.

There were other tangible symbols, fractally represented in the waka as well. Also, in accord with the argument that Maori were a canoe (waka) society, the largest of canoes were certainly monumental structures. A basic Maori waka is a huge dugout canoe, with strakes or gunnels attached along the sides.<sup>108</sup> The amount of work required to build one was massive, sometimes involving the effort of hundreds of people, particularly during transportation to a water source large enough for the nascent waka to be floated.<sup>109</sup> All of this was done with neither the wheel, nor with metal tools. A

<sup>105</sup> Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*.

<sup>106</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 38-41.

<sup>107</sup> Don Stafford, *Te Arawa : A History of the Arawa People* (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1967). pg 14.

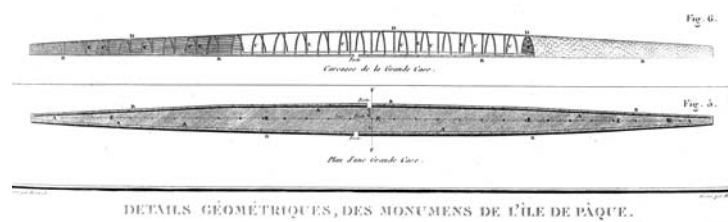
<sup>108</sup> Roger Neich in: Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. pg 240.

<sup>109</sup> Elsdon Best provides a very thorough discussion of the whole process of constructing a Waka taua, although at the time of writing, that was already a thing of the fairly distant past and few of his informers can have had first-hand experience. Although lengthy, this is well worth reading and comparison can be made easily to the process involved in both the construction of pa and Whare whakairo.

Elsdon Best, *The Maori Canoe*, Dominion Museum Bulletin ; No. 7 (Wellington, N.Z.: Dominion Museum, 1925). pp 36-119.

very large tree weighs 20-30 tonnes or more and its transportation even after the transformation into a hollowed canoe structure is difficult. For instance, Te Pokiha Taranui, during testimony to two different land courts makes descriptions of the transportation of the large Waka taua, Te Arawa. In one instance he described how it required 6 oxen and the aid of people to move it to the water.<sup>110</sup> The second time it was transported he stated that the entire Ngati Pikiao hapu were needed (likely just the males). Beyond its mighty scope was the decorated nature of a fine Waka taua, each of the gunnels, the prow and the stern might be elaborately carved. As an additional flourish, even the paddles were often decorated by being patterned or partially carved. Both the felling ceremony and the carving was tapu. In particular the prow and stern were carved by specialist experts, Tohunga whakairo rakau and their assistants. The carved prows were of two kinds – tuere (Also sometimes called toiere) and pitau – which varied in the composition of their carving and while tuere were carved from several pieces of wood, pitau were carved from one.<sup>111</sup> Roger Neich suggests a link between tuere prows and higher status as there is some evidence that the more important chiefs who came out to meet European ships were carried on waka with these prows.<sup>112</sup>

Spiritual and ancestral relationships with the waka were given physical manifestation. Each canoe was individually named, perhaps for an ancestor, but it also manifested or at least represented and was conceptualised as a tipuna. The hull was the backbone of that ancestor and crossing the strakes



13, 14, 15 –Hare paenga; Waka huia. Stéphen-Chauvet - dwelling in the form of an overturned canoe (top, 1935). GF Angas, Ornamental carvings in wood (1847).

At the top, images from Chauvet showing a reconstruction of one of the distinctive Rapanui elite houses – the hare paenga – often unsurprisingly referred to as boat-shaped houses.

At the bottom Two Maori waka huia, or treasure boxes. Comparison can be made with the earlier images showing larger Maori and Tahitian canoe altars.

<sup>110</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pg 193.

<sup>111</sup> Roger Neich in: Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. pg 243.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. pg 243.

meant physically entering that body and a realm of tapu.<sup>113</sup> This is the same process and system as the Whare nui.

Likewise, that backbone was analogous to the genealogy of the rangatira.<sup>114</sup> These elements of personification were replicated in the construction of superior houses. Nor did the relationship between the individual and waka end with death, the dead might be mourned in whaikorero, or valedictory speeches, as canoes broken on the surf, and images show that burial might involve monuments derived from broken waka.<sup>115</sup>

The sacral nature of the canoe was also evident on the land. Tuahu often contained canoe shaped altars, such as that mentioned by WH Skinner and described in the previous section: “in which was an erection called *Te Pou tapu*, in the form of a canoe”<sup>116</sup> and they were also depicted in occasional images. (See figures 7, 8, and 9). These are not unique to New Zealand and there is an obvious relationship to similar structures in other Oceanic cultures, for instance hare paenga, the high-status dwellings on Rapanui, were boat-shaped and as Jo Anne Van Tilburg suggests: “There is ample evidence in other parts of Polynesia for carrying either priests or god images on boats or boat-shaped platforms”.<sup>117</sup> (See figure 13). The similarities are notable when making comparisons with Tahiti, where as with New Zealand Maori, the highest level ramage group was the va’a-matacina’a (canoe occupants).<sup>118</sup> In New Zealand, special and potent treasures were kept in small, lidded containers, which were certainly roughly canoe shaped and their name denotes the actual relationship, as they were known as waka huia, in part at least as they were vessels (waka) to contain valuable Huia feathers. Williams also refers to waka (presumably the waka boxes) as the medium for atua, probably in the same way as Tahitian god boxes also housed their gods.<sup>119</sup> (See figures 14 and 15).

## Conclusions

As Maori understood it, they were not the first inhabitants of the islands of New Zealand. Those were the gods and spirits and the animals and creatures that they encountered when they arrived. There were however explanations for the genesis of all these, and stories which explained how Maori themselves had travelled to reach here, many generations before.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. pg 242.

<sup>114</sup> Anne D'Alleva, *Arts of the Pacific Islands* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1998). pg 98.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. pg 98.

<sup>116</sup> WH Skinner, quoted in: Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 193.

<sup>117</sup> Jo Anne Van Tilburg and Georgia Lee, "Symbolic Stratigraphy: Rock Art and the Monolithic Statues of Easter Island," *World Archaeology* 19, no. 2, Rock Art (1987).

<sup>118</sup> Roger Neich in: Howe and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-), *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. pg 242.

<sup>119</sup> Waka: Williams and New Zealand. Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Maori Language., *A Dictionary in the Maori Language*.

<sup>120</sup> King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. pp 20-1.

At the point of first contact with Europeans, Maori culture had remained in isolation for several hundred years and over the course of that time had gone its own quite distinct way, while retaining nevertheless the *flavour* or a set of relationships with a Pacific Island origination. Maori were very clear in knowing that they had come from somewhere else. In many traditions they came to these islands from a place called Hawaiki; but they had not lived here in perpetuity.<sup>121</sup> Their way of life had clearly to be modified after arrival, but from what was a very small number of original settlers they had thrived and expanded greatly. Within the difficult limits that is, of a set of food resources they had brought from an absolutely different climate, allowing few of those foods to survive as staples, or in some instances, at all. In fact, the survival of the only real introduced staple, kumara, was more to do with its own strange origin in the Andes and the more temperate less tropical horticultural climate there. The other regular Polynesian food-sources were native to warmer growing conditions.

These stringent limits placed pressures on Maori population leading to modifications in the form of the house, eschewing the open-sided fale (Polynesian: house) and producing a sunken, heavy walled whare (Maori: house). Later, growth in population produced distinctive defensive village structures, the pa, and proliferation of war canoes in response. Carving of these canoes flourished. Ritual greeting forms became an important way to alleviate danger when meeting other groups and in a society where death became commonplace as a form of punishment or utu (reciprocation) invisible sanctions (tapu) took on potent meaning and were followed strictly.

What was produced were the seeds for the later marae culture that we now see. Today this means a sacral area, bounded in some way, both by physical barriers and by layers of tapu. Equally however this is a living space, used for many purposes but with one central meeting house, often carved. It is the first transition to this modern form that we have discussed here. It was a transition from new settlers who were living under difficult circumstances and building rudimentary new house forms. These settlers became a vibrant and unique culture, with elaborate structures and huge carved waka. Other transitions were to be first accepted by, and then forced on Maori as they met the European world for the first time. This is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

---

<sup>121</sup> Where Hawaiki actually is or was, is unknown, and in the circles of theorists might even be safely called controversial. Most theories suggest overseas origins, while some actually hypothesise a northern origin in New Zealand, a second set of canoe voyagers (beyond the original colonists) leaving a Northland settlement area and spreading round the country. Simple lexical evidence is interesting however. Havaiki, is the term used for the underworld in the Marquesas as an exemplar of how the phrase is widespread in the Pacific, and when seeking a physical origin, it is probably important to note the clear lexical consanguinity with Sava'i, the largest island in Samoa and also the older, alternate name for Ra'iatea in the Society Islands, which was also known as Hawaiki. Ra'iatea (remembered sometimes as Rangiatea in New Zealand Maori) is of particular interest as the originator of the terminal stage Tahitian religious edifice, the marae, the form for which was probably transmitted to the Hawaiian islands as well, becoming the great heiau. A list of waka is provided in the Appendices.

## **Chapter Three:**

# **TE ARA HOU - Approaching the Modern Marae**

**Introduction; FIRST IMPRESSIONS - FIRST EUROPEAN DEPICTIONS OF MAORI: Mana, utu, tapu, noa; Whare size; Whare construction; Waka; Carving; Kainga, pa – villages, fortifications; Ritual greetings and wero; Summary; KAENGA, PA AND MARAE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: Making the marae; Nineteenth century marae; Depopulation, patronage and the pa; Apirana Ngata and the new marae; Conclusions**

This chapter focuses on change in the marae complex after the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand. The first section details the impressions of the early explorers, such as Cook and De Surville and helps form a sort of snap-shot of Maori life on the marae at that time. It discusses many of the features of the contemporaneous marae, but with emphasis on the aspects most salient to this thesis.

Other sections relate the transition away from kainga and pa and towards the modern marae form. These changes were to occur for a number of reasons, but the most certain one was of course the effect of Europeans, their technology and their lifestyle. Changes within Maori culture were manifold, perhaps most tellingly at a human level because of the dramatic depopulation amongst Maori over the course of the first century of contact.

Over a period of one hundred and fifty years the transformation would be vast, although there is continuity in certain aspects of the marae, each of: the use of ritual; the continued Maori nature of marae functions and even the central Whare nui, have remained relatively unchanging. How and why these things have sustained their place while other changes have occurred, such as those to the physical structure of buildings and to the usage of much building ritual are detailed in this chapter.

The nature of patronage and the changing reasons for constructing whare, post European contact, is also discussed, covering both nineteenth century marae and the phase when the marae was transformed under the auspices of Sir Apirana Ngata and with the creation of the Maori Crafts Institute, in the 1930s.<sup>122</sup>

## FIRST IMPRESSIONS - FIRST EUROPEAN DEPICTIONS OF MAORI

We return again to James Cook and Joseph Banks and the reason we do so is not our own simple fascination, it is theirs, their fascination as observers of new peoples and lands, essentially unseen by previous Europeans. People who would be to at least some European eyes typical of the noble savages the philosopher Rousseau had imagined, uncivilised peoples, yet living in a happy state. This view however belies two things. It clearly understates that Maori society was culturally sophisticated, fairly urban and deeply horticultural. It also belies the difficulties in circumstances that had led Maori to a state of continual warfare, detailed by tribal accounts and horrifically enacted with new weapons, such as muskets, as soon as Maori had access to them. Nevertheless, the early accounts of the European explorers are a remarkable resource, often full of small important details and they tell us much about the houses and dwelling places of the New Zealand Maori, when first encountered by Europeans.

---

<sup>122</sup> Sir Apirana Ngata(1874-1950) was a famous Maori leader and politician, from Ngati Porou (an East Coast iwi). He was the first Maori to complete a degree (BA, then LLB) and was instrumental in the 1930s with the revivification of Maori arts and crafts, particularly new construction of marae whare.



### Mana, utu, tapu, noa

As with other of the cultures that Cook and his various crews would encounter across the Pacific, the lives of New Zealand Maori were circumscribed by a world, often hidden, of ritual, custom, convention and tradition bound inextricably into their daily lives. Chief among the concepts that formed the foundation of this way of life were those of mana, utu, tapu and noa, translated at their very simplest as prestige (mana), reciprocation (utu), sacred or prohibited (tapu) and profane or even mundane (noa) although that is in some ways the most difficult idea to contain.<sup>123</sup> Of these concepts, the one which was most obvious to early European explorers was that of tapu and the same word, from its Tongan form of tabu has entered English as the word taboo. As the discussions below will show, Europeans often encountered behaviour which was difficult for them to understand but was the result of the complex weaving of tapu in Maori society, making some things, some places and even some people sacrosanct. Sometimes tapu boundaries were transgressed with consequences for all parties.

Mana at its most basic could be described as a form of accumulated prestige, often inherited and resulting from a chieftainly or priestly lineage. Great leaders, warriors or priests – male or female – could increase their mana throughout their lifetime, or of course in some instances their mana might diminish over time. Items or people with extreme mana were very tapu because of this mana.<sup>124</sup>

Utu or reciprocation could be deemed to have meant equivalent exchange, not necessarily of commodities, but also of perceived insults, transgressions or hospitality. The need for utu between individuals or groups in order to achieve a (more) balanced exchange was not necessarily immediate and thus some exchanges might play out over many years or even over generations. At its most extreme utu meant the reciprocated act of vengeance between tribes, resulting quite possibly in hundreds of deaths.

Tapu came in several forms, most notably personal tapu and tapu of (sometimes injunctioned) objects. Some individuals were highly tapu and most people, had some measure of personal tapu, so for instance, the head was considered tapu. Some objects or places were tapu, either because they had been made tapu deliberately (known as a rahui: a protective injunction), because they were associated with natural tapu, for example, bodies or urupa (burial places) or lastly because they were imbued with tapu, for instance carved ancestral figures, who's tapu derived from having their own spirit, as detailed more fully in a later section.

Concentrated tapu could be very dangerous and while in some circumstance it was best maintained, so for instance the mana and tapu of some tohunga was maintained by them never

<sup>123</sup> Although my brief notes on mana, utu, tapu and noa are based on a combination of personal experience and readings of the descriptive narratives of early Europeans and their encounters with Maori, for a far more complete discussion of these ideas, I have followed Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 29-63.

<sup>124</sup> But not to the extent of the tapu (based on the mana) of some ali'i (Maori: Ariki) in the Society Islands, some of whom were so tapu that they had to be carried above ground, otherwise areas they touched would then ritually belong to them.

coming in contact with food, in other cases it was better to diminish tapu and remove the danger. Tapu could be diminished in some circumstances by the introduction of noa things, so for example food (which is noa) eaten in a carved house would be a violation of tapu, whereas the dangerous levels of tapu in a newly carved house could be diminished by proper ceremonies and the introduction of a woman (also noa) into the house, making it safe.

### Whare size

In general, houses were relatively small, clearly by European standards of that time anyway. According to Banks<sup>125</sup> they were ‘seldom more than 16 or 18 feet long, 8 or 10 broad and five or 6 high from the ridge pole to the Ground’.<sup>126</sup> Cook suggests,<sup>127</sup> 20 or 30 feet in length and with others of smaller size,<sup>128</sup> while de Surville,<sup>129</sup> a mere 8 to 10 feet. De Surville’s discrepancy may lie in the differing nature of those villages he personally observed, likely of a more temporary nature. Jean-Francois-Marie de Surville, the French explorer was also circumnavigating part of the North Island at almost exactly the same time as Cook was during his first voyage – it seems surprising in fact that they never crossed paths.

Houses were clearly rectangular – ‘they are of an oblong square’ as Parkinson would put it,<sup>130</sup> the commonplace phrase at that time for the rectangle, and a description echoed exactly by Cook.<sup>131</sup> Thus the shape if not the size were the prototype of later Maori houses and eventually, the great Whare nui which are the commonplace centre of the modern marae. Sydney Parkinson was, with Herman(n) Deitrich Sporing, employed as an artist on the *Endeavour’s* first voyage. Unfortunately both of them succumbed to illness while returning to England. Their styles are quite distinct, but their eye for detail is often immaculate.

Not all were quite so small. Banks was indeed very particular in the description of one house: ‘But I must not forget the ruins or rather frame of a house (for it had never been finishd) which I saw at Tolaga, as it was so much superior in size to any thing of the kind we have met with in any other

<sup>125</sup> All the quotes for Banks in the following section come from his journal entries: Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. Banks pg 217.

<sup>127</sup> All the quotes for Cook in the following section come from his journal entries from his first voyage: Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. Cook, Descriptions, pg 63.

<sup>129</sup> All the quotes for de Surville in the following section come from: St. Jean Baptiste (Ship) et al., *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769, under the Command of J.F.M. De Surville*, Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life ; 1 (Wellington, N.Z.: Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust : National Library of New Zealand, 1982).

<sup>130</sup> Sydney Parkinson, William Kenrick, and Stanfield Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World* (London: Stanfield Parkinson, 1773). Parkinson, pg 135.

<sup>131</sup> All the quotes for Parkinson in the following section come from: Ibid.

part of the land. It was 30 feet in length,      in breadth and      high'.<sup>132</sup> Simple mathematics suggests that at 30 feet, this larger whare may have been 17 feet wide and 10 feet at the peak of its roof, not a small building.

### Whare construction

Although some early images show circular or barrel shaped whare, the clear consensus amongst early journals was that the common house had a peaked (again European-style) roof.<sup>133</sup> De Surville actually described the barrel shaped whare and was of the opinion that they were designed as temporary shelters. Banks detailed the sloped rooves, 'built with a sloping roof like our European houses',<sup>134</sup> and Parkinson indicates that 'the eaves of them reached to the ground'.<sup>135</sup> The roof itself was thatched according to Banks from 'dry grass or hay and very tightly it is put together, so that necessarily they must be very warm',<sup>136</sup> and Parkinson suggested that Maori builders 'lay a net made of grass, which is also thatched very close and thick'.<sup>137</sup>

Such descriptions of thick building materials were a common theme. Although all these travellers were circumnavigating New Zealand during the course of the summer months, they must have all been aware of the much cooler winter, from the southerly latitudes through which they traversed but also from other clues, such as temperature differentials as they travelled, a prevalence of particular evergreen trees and the lack of the same warm-climate plants that they had seen in the northerly tropics. Most notable was the lack not of tropical fruit but of the cloth manufactured in the islands from the paper mulberry tree (tapa cloth) which in New Zealand was so scarce and valuable that only small tufts were used as decoration in piercings.

Cook has it in a single phrase: 'The houses of these people are better calculated for a cold than a hot climate'.<sup>138</sup> Having spent months in the tropical environs of Tahiti, the differing construction methodologies, of essentially similar houses were obvious. Tahitian fare were often open-sided, and invariably situated at or above ground level, in some instances even utilising raised platforms.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Banks, pg 219. The gaps in this quote are actually found in the original text, which I have seen, and indeed in transcriptions. Tologa Bay, one of a number of small bays on the East Coast of the North Island, north of Gisborne.

<sup>133</sup> St. Jean Baptiste (Ship) et al., *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769, under the Command of J.F.M. De Surville*. pg 126.

<sup>134</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Banks, pg 217.

<sup>135</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World*. Parkinson, pg 120.

<sup>136</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Banks, pg 217.

<sup>137</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World*. Parkinson, pg 135.

<sup>138</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. Cook, pg 63.

<sup>139</sup> Clearly not so much any difference in pronunciation but rather a spelling preference on the part of the original transliterators, in New Zealand Maori that would be whare.



16 – John Webber – The Hippah (1777).

This view shows the interior of what was only a fairly small pa at Queen Charlotte Sound. Painted on Cook's third voyage, it gives some impression of typical living whare. Note the single entrances, lack of windows and deep eaves. The very low doors are a signal of the sunken, below-ground-level interiors.

The New Zealand whare was the experimental result of identical technologies, employed in a radical fashion to protect against cold. To Polynesian settlers and colonists from the mid-Pacific, the New Zealand winter would have been difficult and unyielding and certainly cold beyond their experience. The technical innovations to combat this included sinking houses into the ground, making them at least partially subterranean and by combining this with thick walls (and rooves) to insulate against the climate. This was further coupled with the extensive use of fire directly in hearths inside the whare themselves. The open-walled island style houses gave way to buildings with but a single portal, and generally not even a window, a matter of clear interest to the European observers who were at pains to mention this.

Cook put it thus, 'just within the door is the fire place and over the door or on one side is a small hole to let out the smook [smoke]',<sup>140</sup> while Banks is more comprehensive, 'Within is a square place fenced off with either boards or stones from the rest, in the middle of which they can make a fire'.<sup>141</sup> Maori did not employ chimneys, using any of the portals at the front of their whare as an exit point for the smoke of their fires. The inevitable consequence was an often smoky habitation, which Parkinson clearly noted: 'Their fires are made in the center upon the floor, and the door serves them

<sup>140</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. Cook, pg 63.

<sup>141</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Banks, pp 217-8.

for a chimney. Their houses, therefore, of course, must be full of smoke; and we observed that every thing brought out of them smelt strong of it'.<sup>142</sup> The singular entrance was 'no bigger than to admit a man to creep in and out' according to Cook,<sup>143</sup> but de Surville is more mathematical in his description: 'The entrance is extremely small; the greatest I have seen was not even 2 ½ feet high by 1 ½ feet wide'.<sup>144</sup> Further, de Surville commented that 'This doorway, which is the only entrance, is always on the side turned away from the ill weather'.<sup>145</sup> This is an important comment as it implies that the positioning of regular houses, as explained to de Surville was not based on any motive of tapu. Rather, the entrance was oriented away from weather and for pragmatic and prosaic reasons the rectangular layout of the individual whare was also dictated by weather conditions. Although not all whare had doors covering the entrance, some did, de Surville calling it simply a plank, but noting that 'it is very difficult to open for those who do not know the trick (secret)'. A locking mechanism of some kind was clearly in use, which while being simple was also effective.

Notable above these entrances was often a decorated 'plank', its meaning and significance a little misconstrued by the Europeans. 'Many have either over the door or fixd somewhere in the house a peice of Plank coverd with their carving, which they seem to value much as we do a picture, placing it always as conspicuously as possible.', according to Banks.<sup>146</sup> And de Surville makes the comment that 'the doorframes (jambs) of their houses are ornamented with the same semblance, cut larger, but it seemed to me to have the same posture'.<sup>147</sup> De Surville's comments come after a brief discussion of Hei Tiki, small carved figures, a subject which he discusses a number of times, as these were the most decorative of the Maori forms of body ornamentation.<sup>148</sup> It is very enlightening for us, and makes it clear that the door jambs were ornamented with anthropomorphic figures, not simply volutes, spirals or other symbols used by Maori. Where Banks sees simple decoration, de Surville is more astute and links the figures to Maori atua (gods), recognising that the figures may be associated with Maori theology. The carvings were most likely positioned so carefully because of the mana imbued in them first as representations of tipuna (ancestors) or atua, second as objects associated with the mana of the original carver and third due to the mana of the tipuna or atua themselves. It is possible they were also guardians, and represented or enacted the transition between different 'spaces'. No doubt there

<sup>142</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World.* Parkinson, pg 135.

<sup>143</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages.* Cook, pg 63.

<sup>144</sup> St. Jean Baptiste (Ship) et al., *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769, under the Command of J.F.M. De Surville.* pp 126/229.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid. Pg 126.

<sup>146</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771.* Banks, pg 217.

<sup>147</sup> St. Jean Baptiste (Ship) et al., *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769, under the Command of J.F.M. De Surville.* pp 135/238. He has just been describing Hei Tiki (see footnote below).

<sup>148</sup> Hei Tiki, or just tiki, are carved anthropomorphic figures often worn as decoration and carved most usually out of stone, jade or bone. Originally very rare, due to scarcity and difficulty of material and construction no doubt, they were later worn freely by many.

was an intrinsic economic value invested in these taonga (treasures) as well; elaborate, large, or particularly well-carved whakairo (carvings) were no doubt representative both of status and of the wealth involved in the exchange process with the carver. The best carvings would have had a trans-generational aspect and have been attached historically to particular wood-specialist tohunga. Their value however was no doubt safe to display on several levels. First, in small communities, the loss or removal of such items would have been both obvious and difficult, the punishment for such a crime swift and harsh. Second, imbued with their own and familial mana, these items were likely quite sacrosanct, and their innate tapu feared even by stray visitors. These door-frames were far from the only carved items associated with households however, a matter discussed more fully a little later. Door jambs, or pare, actually mark boundaries at many levels.

Walls, like the roof, were stoutly and warmly constructed. ‘The walls are composed of several layers of reeds covered with thatch, and are of considerable thickness.’ according to Parkinson,<sup>149</sup> while Banks included a few more details: ‘The materials of both walls and roof is dry grass or hay and very tightly it is put together, so that necessarily they must be very warm. Some are lined with bark of trees on the inside’.<sup>150</sup> De Surville is the most specific, and must have closely observed the construction of whare, explaining that they were assembled with a support post in each corner, to which were attached cross beams, at right angles to each other, with every joint being attached strongly at the point of intersection. Over the framework de Surville explained, ‘they cover this with several layers of rushes which guarantee a very fine protection from the ill-effects of weather.’ Thatch was of course the inevitable construction material for country rooves in both Great Britain and France and the European gentlemen at least would have been well acquainted with its appearance. The construction of weather-proof thatch however is not simple and while patch-work reconstruction was no doubt the provenance of many in Europe, specialist thatchers were generally employed to produce a weather-proof initial construction. As with modern roofing, while many people could make piece-meal repairs, the actual original construction was likely the provenance of experts. Parkinson makes the comment that ‘Over the beams, that compose the eaves, they lay a net made of grass, which is also thatched very close and thick.’<sup>151</sup> Thatch in any place must be weather-proof not merely waterproof.

It must be both tightly woven to withstand strong winds and also bundled in such ways as to allow water to run freely down its surface.

<sup>149</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World.* Parkinson, pg 135.

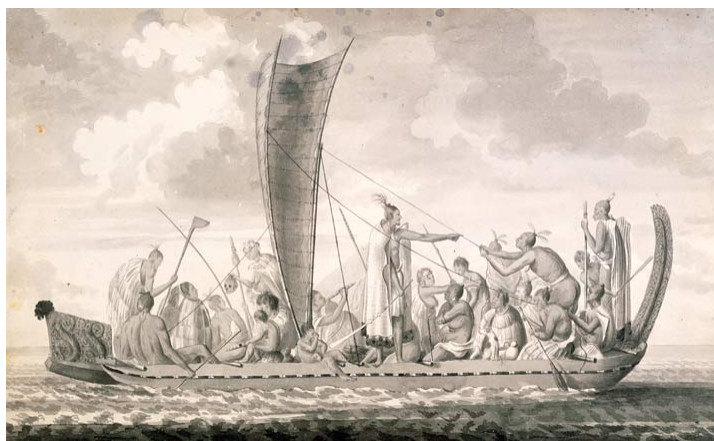
<sup>150</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771.* Banks, pg 217.

<sup>151</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World.* Parkinson, pg 135.

## Waka

Unsurprisingly, the sea-based explorers encountered literally hundreds of waka (canoes) of many types. It may seem an aside from the discussions of Maori housing, but the mariner's eye for nautical details provides us with much important evidence regarding the whare that furnished the heart of marae. A large fully decorated canoe, or its clearly rarer land-based counterpart – at least in economic terms – the Whare whakairo, was an investment and resource which while commanded and wielded at the behest of an elite was representative of the resources and mana of a greater assemblage, the hapu.

Cook is particularly interested in Maori canoes and makes regular brief descriptions of them in the course of his journal entries. While summing up Maori life however he waxes more thoroughly on their decorations. From the range of descriptions provided by Cook and others, and particularly from the sketches of Sporing and Parkinson, it is clear that high proportions of Maori waka had carved bows and sterns, and in some cases, were also elaborately carved along the length of their gunnels. Cook has this to say: 'The or[n]aments of both head and stern and the two side boards were of carved work and in my opinion neither ill design'd nor executed.'<sup>152</sup> And then goes on to add: 'the head ornaments of their canoes vary they are as various in the heads of their canoes as we are in those of our shipping but what is most common are is an od design'd figures of a man with as ugly a face as can be conceived, a very large tongue sticking out of



17 – Sydney Parkinson – A New Zealand War Canoe (1770).

From Cook's first voyage, both this image and the one below are truncated and compressed by the artist in order to show particular details that were more difficult to elaborate on images which were more true to scale (such as that shown in the previous chapter with a full waka taua). Note the sail, the clearly attached gunwales and the variation between the two pitau (prows) above and below.



18 – Sydney Parkinson – A New Zealand War Canoe (1770).

Note the whalebone rakau in the hands of the central standing figure and the elaborate decorations which are affixed to the prow and stern ornamentation. Both of which, as in the image at the top are very elaborately carved.

<sup>152</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. Cook - descriptions, pg 62.



his mouth and large white eyes made of the Shells of sea ears'.<sup>153</sup> (See figure 26). Sea ears – paua. *Haliotis iris*, a mollusc, also known as paua in New Zealand Maori and commonly referred to elsewhere as abalone. The shell when polished is opalescent, and is usually a green-blue iridescent colour.

That Cook so firmly illustrates for us the carved figures on canoes is the result not only of his indisputably nautical vision, but also of a ship-based circumnavigation of the islands of New Zealand. It is clear from the journals that few ventured more than a mile or two inland and the habitations that were visited were those of coastal villages. The importance of the canoe in daily life would thus have been exaggerated as were their importance as an object that was imbued with the mana of the owner(s). There are corollaries: at mainly coastal settlements an emphasis on high-quality waka construction and decoration may well have applied, to the economic detriment of house-building, the investment made in carvings for canoes rather than houses. Cook makes the explicit comparison between the figureheads typical of European ships and the figurehead on waka. These, we can discern from their description, were literally that, an anthropomorphic body and head, the face carved in a simulation of the pukana (ritual challenge) and with additional decoration. Thus canoes – or at least some large portion of them – were not mere fishing and diving platforms, but designed for martial efforts. Cook has it exactly right: 'their large Canoes are I beleive built wholly for war and will carry from 40 to 80 or 100 men with their arms &Ca I shall give the demensions of one which I measured that lay a shore at Tolaga. Length 68½ feet; breadth 5 feet and depth 3½ feet.'<sup>154</sup>

When such an extravagant investment in war-craft is coupled with the commensurate descriptions of defended pa sites it is evident that, in the coastal regions at least, a state of continual readiness for war existed. Certainly, incursions by outsiders would be met repeatedly by wero (challenges). This was communicated both ritually and emblematically by the figureheads mounted on canoe prows. (Refer to figures 17 and 18). Sometimes the figures were used to calm the waters over which the waka was passing. Over time the importance of both the Waka taua and of the land-warfare forms then prevalent would be obviated by European technology. The investment both in mana and in economic terms that had been imbued in canoes would turn inward and the number of larger elaborately carved whare would increase.

The anthropomorphic figure described above accords neatly with those observed by de Surville's crew on door lintels and is sufficiently analogous to suggest, based on these European descriptions, that the portal figures were also protective spirits, representing the transition between the public space and the private space of the family and warding against intrusion.

---

<sup>153</sup> Ibid. pg 62.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid. Cook - descriptions, pg 61.



## Carving

That same large and unfinished house that Banks reminisced seeing in Tolaga was no mere home. Aside from its impressive dimensions (30 feet in length) it had also been memorably carved and decorated, yet had been abandoned before completion. It seems likely to have remained incomplete because of some violation in tapu, and appears to have remained tapu thereafter. Although the Europeans were allowed to examine the building, no explanation of its abandonment was forthcoming from local Maori and it is implicit that the structure remained intact and had not been stripped of its valuable adornments. Banks is equivocal, ‘the sides of it were ornamented with many broad carvd planks of a workmanship superior to any we saw upon the land; but for what purpose this was built or why deserted we could not find out.’<sup>155</sup>

Likely this is an understated description of a Whare whakairo, the ‘carvd planks’ were wide, carefully hewn ancestral figures, which had been carved by expert tohunga. The why of the house is straightforward, but it was in clear contrast as a representation of whare to all those others that Banks had seen. His exact choice of words is telling and likely assumed by many to be a comparison between the carvings found elsewhere in New Zealand: ‘superior to any we saw upon the land’. The real meaning is a little different, the carving was better than the land based carving that they had seen, and probably of the same quality as the best of the canoes – found upon the *water*.

Elsewhere, the emphatic Parkinson has an artist’s eye for the decoration found on Maori artefacts, no matter how mundane:

The men have a particular taste for carving: their boats, paddles, boards to put on their houses, tops of walking sticks, and even their boats valens,[ I think here that he is using his own, possibly dialectic, spelling of wale, and is referring to the gunwales of the canoes] are carved in a variety of flourishes, turnings and windings, that are unbroken; but their favourite figure seems to be a volute, or spiral, which they vary many ways, single, double, and triple, and with as much truth as if done from mathematical draughts: yet the only instruments we have seen are a chizzel, and an axe made of stone. Their fancy, indeed, is very wild and extravagant, and I have seen no imitations of nature in any of their performances, unless the head, and the heart-shaped tongue hanging out of the mouth of it, may be called natural.<sup>156</sup>

This is actually an important detail, as modern speakers on marae, seldom brandish weapons, but often use (carved) walking sticks, (whakairo) rakau, also known as tokotoko, to emphasise their speeches. The mention of walking/talking sticks by Parkinson certainly implies an antique provenance. (See figure 18, centre standing figure, for a likely tokotoko, see also figure 21).

<sup>155</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Banks, pg 219.

<sup>156</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World*. Parkinson, pg 135.



19 & 19a – Sydney Parkinson – Portrait of a New Zealand man (1769) Photograph below by author.

The original Hei Tiki, whaletooth necklace and hair combs from these portraits are now on display in the British Museum.



20 & 20a – Sydney Parkinson – Portrait of Otegoowgoow (1769) Photograph below by author.

This portrait dates from December 1769 and the moko displays a distinctive lined form. The necklace is made from a whales tooth.



Much as Parkinson describes, virtually every item whether personal or public was elaborately decorated. The sheer effusion of Maori art is apparent both in Parkinson's description and in the catalogue of items carried back to Great Britain on board the *Endeavour*. Today, many of these objects can be found in the collections of the British Museum and some may be observed gorgeously encased amongst a myriad of other objects gathered by enlightenment explorers. A number were the subject of studies by the *Endeavour's* resident artists Sydney Parkinson and Deidrich Sporing – other items, some of them now missing, were later lavishly redrawn, but the sketches remain to give us fine detail through the eyes of the voyagers.

The carvings fall into two general categories, those which are carved in the abstract-seeming language of the curves and spirals so common in Maori art and other items which are anthropomorphic in nature. Even these human figures are of course invested heavily with their own circumlocutions, reprising another Maori art-form, the moko (tattoo) and presenting information to insightful readers of such markings.<sup>157</sup> Circumlocutions in two senses – they are both curvilinear, and they elaborate a story. The sketches show further variation in the human figures as well, insofar as some are designed three dimensionally (posts, canoe figureheads) and may be observed in the round, while others (carved box lids, wall 'planks') show figures in a flattened front on view. The sketches make a number of things very clear. The art was sophisticated and detailed, both time consuming and difficult to produce with the bone and stone tools at hand to the carvers. As well, although of a generally similar format, there are obvious dialectic manifestations that recognisably differentiate the carver(s), both regionally and by the expressions that they employ.

All are of interest as they detail Maori art from an epoch that is generally lost to us, both through the attrition of time and through the interposition of outside cultures, modifying the concepts of the art and the manner in which the art was concluded.

Canoes, and their carving, disproportionately represented both in the journal descriptions and in the images of the voyage, are crucial to our understanding of the metaphors employed in marae at that time. We can draw out the same conclusions we have above, regarding the carving styles used and apply them by analogy to the whare and to marae. Personal items of quality were likely rare and thus valuable, so this value was emphasised and enhanced by the application of decoration. Much like European allegory though, the curves and volutes were coded and meaningful, signifying messages

---

<sup>157</sup> Moko, or Maori tattoo was practiced on both genders. While today, when people receive the moko, it is almost always with modern tattoo equipment, traditionally it was done with bone and stone tools and moko are actually chiseled patterns in the skin, impregnated with pigment. Tattooing was carried out by specialist tohunga, and spilt blood could be very tapu. There are instances when individuals were too tapu from their inherent mana to receive the moko.

Typically women were tattooed only on their lips and the area below their mouth. Men were tattooed on their thighs and buttocks and most visibly on the face. Commencing when they were relatively young, facial tattoos might take many years to complete and were in many instances allegorical – often relating some of the life story of the recipient. There were several styles used, some curvilinear in form, others straight-lined. In either case, the vernacular is clearly and unsurprisingly not dis-similar to that of whakairo.





21 – Sydney Parkinson – Three Paddles from New Zealand (1769).

Notable for the provision of ornamentation to what may at first seem the most banal of objects, they also represent a complexity of patterns that was also present in other forms such as kōwhiriwhiri patterns on rafters (discussed below) and certainly on moko. Comparison can clearly be made with complex kōwhiriwhiri of the whare Te Hau ki Turanga (see later), which are considerably more detailed than kōwhiriwhiri now or in the period since that whare was constructed in the 1840s.

that in a non-writing culture could convey stories, genealogies and histories. On the anthropomorphic pieces, the same curves could not only delineate arms and legs but could also portray moko to the minimum extent that they would be recognisable as a wooden version of local tribal moko. Or a carved interpretation of that, later (or earlier) formalising as a localised motif and coming to represent regional stylistic variations. A carving could thus represent either a familial or ancestral member or conversely, demonstrate looting and conquest achieved over other tribes, as stolen carvings, with their different forms, moko and style would clearly have betrayed their origins in another tribe. The images tell an additional story as well. While some show the volutes and other markings appended to human skin as moko and others retell the carved efflorescence of numerous wooden and bone objects, there is a single vivid water-colour, now held in the British Library showing three paddles. Parkinson, the artist of this work, addresses the theme in his journal: ‘their paddles were

curiously stained a red colour, disposed into various strange figures; and the whole together was no contemptible workmanship'.<sup>158</sup> (Refer to figure 21).

These are the same stains and markings that may have adorned the roof-beams of contemporaneous whare but were definitely to feature as part of the decoration of later whare - what we recognise as kowhaiwhai. Usually these are curvilinear painted patterns which are used to decorate rafters in particular. They often convey allegorical messages, genealogy or other detail. We have no clear descriptions of these same, but the link in style at least is unmistakeable.

### **Kainga, pa – villages, fortifications**

While the Europeans had become thoroughly apprised of the marae of the Tahitians and had recognised their religious monumentalism during time spent in the Society Islands, the Maori concept of the marae seems to have eluded them. In part they may not have recognised the extra aspects of protocol and ritual as they were invited into what no doubt seemed to them to be simple villages. In other ways this may have resulted because the marae as we understand it today was not conceptually recognisable in the same way. What was evident to the European gaze were the basic village units and the brooding pa (fortresses, strongholds), seen everywhere with a relatively large population. Although the standard living unit was the single whare, Banks makes an interesting comment that 'Some few of the better sort have



22 – Sydney Parkinson – Hippiah (1769).

This much copied sketch gives some idea of the main features of a pre-contact pa: built in a difficult place; palisaded; drying/food platforms; compartmentalised or sectioned.



23 – James McDonald – Alarm in a Maori Pa (1906).

Although dramatic, McDonald has a good eye for detail and although pa no longer existed in this form by the time this image was painted, nevertheless the size and complexity of some of the larger pre-contact pa is correctly portrayed. Note the tumu figures on the palisades.

<sup>158</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World.* Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1769. Parkinson, pg 126.

kind of Court Yards, the walls of which are made of poles and hay 10 or 12 feet high, which as their families are large incloses 3 or 4 houses.<sup>159</sup> This is a recognisable description of a marae, if not with the religious connotations of other places.

In some instances several villages may have been attached or affiliated with singular pa.

De Surville felt that 'Their villages are made up of 5 or 6 houses at the most, but their towns hold more, which I call their refuges or their citadels. They are situated on the steepest hillsides which they can choose, the houses are built in tiers, and it is here that they retreat during the attacks of their enemies and to defend against their attacks.'<sup>160</sup> As they walked around this particular complex the French counted 50 houses, abandoned as the inhabitants retreated to their pa. At a pa seen by the *Endeavour* crew, Parkinson noted 'there are about thirty-two houses, containing upwards of two hundred inhabitants.'<sup>161</sup> It was not irregular for a cluster of smaller villages, gathered in a general vicinity to contain several hundred people. A calculation recapitulated in the scale of the larger war canoes, designed to hold as many as a hundred warriors, where warriors were realistically the smallest numerical component of any village.

The basic whare or even the extended whare-compound proposed by Banks can be related to the Maori concept of the whanau, a single extended family, all closely related, while larger villages associated with a pa site may relate to the hapu, or sub-tribe. Hapu is however a more difficult concept to pin down, where members were not necessarily simply members of a moiety but were more clannish. Hapu is thus in some ways more of a geographic designation, those members of an iwi (tribe) who lived in a particular vicinity and who were often closely inter-related.<sup>162</sup>

Cooks first descriptions of pa are straightforward, based almost solely on offshore observation:

these Villages are built upon eminences near the Sea. and are fortified on the land side with a Bank and a Ditch, and Pallisaded all round, besides this some of them appear'd to have out works.

We have before now observed on several parts of the Coast small Villages inclosed with Pallisades, and Works of this kind built on eminences and ridges of hills, but Tupia hath all along told us that they were Mories [Tahitian and Maori: marae] or places of Worship, but I rather think that they are places of retreat or Stronghold.<sup>163</sup>

The crew of the *Endeavour* would however become quite familiar with the heppah as they referred to them, primarily of course, because it was the most obvious architectural feature they encountered

<sup>159</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. pg 218.

<sup>160</sup> St. Jean Baptiste (Ship) et al., *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769, under the Command of J.F.M. De Surville*. pp 230/127.

<sup>161</sup> Parkinson, Kenrick, and Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World*. Parkinson, pg 126.

<sup>162</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 214-15.

<sup>163</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. Cook, 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov, 1769.

but also clearly as another singular demonstration of the war-like state of the Maori people, as Banks would explain:

Of these Forts or towns we saw many, indeed the inhabitants constantly livd in such from the Westernmost part of the Bay of Plenty to Queen Charlots Sound; but about Hawk's bay, Poverty Bay, Tegadu and Tolaga there were none, and the houses were scatterd about; there were indeed upon the sides of hills stages built ... which might serve as a retreat to save their lives at the last extremity, and nothing else, and these were mostly in ruins. Throughout all this district the people seemd free from apprehension and as in a state of Profound peace. Their cultivations were far more numerous and larger than we saw them any where else and they had a far greater quantity of Fine boats, Fine cloaths, Fine carvd work; in short the people were far more numerous, and livd in much greater affluence, than any others we saw.<sup>164</sup>

It is an important set of observations. Banks and Cook both believed these areas were affluent because they were under the sway of a single leader, who Cook referred to as 'Teeratu the Earee de hi'. A chief, Teratu (as Cook calls him), who had often been mentioned to them, Earee de hi, is Cook's spelling of ariki rihi, or high chief. However, neither was this the case, but probably the opposite was true. The population and prosperity of locals can be attributed to the warm micro-climate of the region. Likewise a lack of political unification within the area and the difficulty in reaching these regions from elsewhere (they are separated by mountain ranges and dense bush) lessened the possibility of large-scale warfare. The results are fascinating. Without the continued (and debilitating) economic investment in pa, the locals described by the explorers were noticeably wealthier and the evidence for this is demonstrated in luxury goods: fine waka, fine kahu and fine whakairo. Thus, it is no surprise whatsoever that, with such evident surplus, the finest house Banks saw was from Tolaga. It is an indicator of the same investment in Whare whakairo that would become the normal expression of a hapu's wellbeing from the late nineteenth century onwards.

### Ritual greetings and wero

Ritual greetings now play an important part in New Zealand when welcoming visitors at marae or on other dignified or important occasions. There is ample evidence that this has been the case traditionally as well.<sup>165</sup> The standard form of such greetings is a wero or challenge to the visitors followed by a powhiri or welcoming ceremony. It is a matter of simplicity to link the state of war-

<sup>164</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Banks, pg 241.

<sup>165</sup> See for instance, Earle (1832), Nicholas (1817), Cook and Banks (1769-70).





24 – Isaac Gilsemans – Murderers Bay (1642).

This seemingly simple image from one of the remaining copies of Tasman's journal actually provides a wealth of detail. It chronicles, in a sort of time-lapse image, the events which took place during Tasman and his crews' main encounter with Maori. Maori double-waka are clearly shown (note the double sterns and prows) as are such small details as the binding of the strakes to the hull using cordage and even the triangular Maori sails. What may appear at first as head gear are simply the characteristic Maori top-knots (tikitiki).

readiness described above to the need to ascertain whether visitors were of a friendly or unfriendly disposition and this is in fact the very nature of the wero. During the course of the challenge, visitors are approached by an armed warrior who places a token before them; acceptance of the token is a sign of good intentions. The wero is highly confrontational, intense and very fierce. The warrior performs a series of weapons manoeuvres directly in front of the visitors, usually with the taiaha, a 1.5 metre long staff with a sharpened end, an undeniably dangerous implement. While this may sound like a spear, it is not, as it was not generally a stabbing or throwing weapon, like a spear, but rather was/is wielded like a long club. In the event of a wero being challenged in return, rather than accepted, the next step before actual battle would likely be haka, war-dances, calculated to demonstrate prowess and to overawe opponents. Thus, a series of ritual processes were the normal intercourse between two groups of Maori when meeting, partly to determine intentions and calculated to make transactions safer and less likely to become violent.<sup>166</sup> Not following these strictures would thus call up a series of also ritualised responses and might call for violent measures.

<sup>166</sup> And still are when following the protocol of approach at marae and on other formal occasions. Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 126-131. Also: T. S. Karetu, *Haka : Te Tohu O Te Whenua Rangitira = the Dance of a Noble People* (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1993).



Lacking knowledge of these correct responses had fatal results for the first Europeans to approach New Zealand, such as the Dutch under Abel Tasman:

people in the two canoes began to call out to us in gruff, hollow voices. We could not in the least understand any of it; however, when they called out again several times we called back to them as a token answer. But they did not come nearer than a stone's shot. They also blew many times on an instrument, which produced a sound like the moors' trumpets. We had one of our sailors (who could play somewhat on the trumpet) play some tunes to them in answer.<sup>167</sup>

This was almost certainly a wero, the horns used by local Maori acting as warnings to both the Dutch and to their own compatriots on other canoes and onshore. The visitors were being challenged and had responded with their own challenge – violent action might be called for. Indeed the following day, after another set of such challenges, either three or four Dutch were clubbed to death in one of their long-boats. (See figure 24).

Cook's crew were confronted by both wero and haka on numerous occasions, but for whatever reason, there are no good descriptions of a powhiri, the peaceful welcoming of visitors as guests into a village or more specifically a marae.

## Summary

The interplay between Maori and European is detailed mainly from a singular cultural perspective, that of the visitor, the alien, the pakeha, but it is finely detailed. Two hundred and forty some years later we can discern information that has otherwise long since vanished, as Maori buildings, wooden, subject to the exigencies of weather and a revolution in the form of European technology and lifestyle are also long vanished from the landscape. We can however partially reconstruct them. There is a written bridge that enhances our understanding and leads us between the modern world, where buildings and ritual although clearly modified still exist and have their basis both conceptually and literally in the Maori world described by Cook and others. Thereafter our sources become more numerous, more fluent in the culture and lastly, some of those sources are either Maori or even physical. This of course does not make them better, but it does ground them in the originating culture and, difficulties in translation aside, offers a more original perspective. The oldest surviving whare Te Hau ki Turanga, which is discussed elsewhere in this book, itself, dates from the first half of the nineteenth century. The next section then discusses marae in the nineteenth

<sup>167</sup> Curnow et al., *Abel Janszoon Tasman & the Discovery of New Zealand*. 18<sup>th</sup> Dec, 1642. Tasman's complete journal has been lost, there are however two excerpted versions, this quote comes from a translation of these. Another, slightly different, English translation can be found online at the State Library of New South Wales here: [http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/Ebind/safe1\\_72/a287/a287000.html](http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/Ebind/safe1_72/a287/a287000.html) which includes images of one set of the original Dutch excerpts while a complete set of images of another of the original Dutch versions can be seen at the Dutch National Archives here: [http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/vitrine/journaal\\_tasman.pdf](http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/vitrine/journaal_tasman.pdf)

century, in a land now changed and changing constantly as a result of the intervention and arrival of Europeans in New Zealand.

## KAENGA, PA AND MARAE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

### Making the marae

After the European advent in New Zealand with Cook and his crew, the impetus to modify and literally to Europeanise their lifestyle was grasped by Maori in ways that can be aptly measured by changes to the marae. As we have seen from the early European descriptions, coastal Maori and possibly inland Maori as well, appear to have lived in villages, consisting of a number of whare of varying sizes, gathered in a single place. Groups of these hamlets were affiliated with singular pa, or fortresses, situated on nearby defensible hills or outcrops. Many pa sites were designed for short-term occupation as raids were usually short-lived.<sup>168</sup> Without pack-animals (apart from captured slaves and the warriors own carrying ability) the amount of food which could be carried was relatively small, making long-term sieges difficult. Large waka, war canoes, might support raiding on a greater scale but of course only on pa reasonably close to good landing places, although canoes (usually smaller) were portaged at times.

The transition to European weapon technology completely eliminated the protection previously afforded by such fortresses and that this would inevitably occur was clearly pre-figured in the early French accounts of pa-sites.<sup>169</sup> Even a small number of guns, which killed at a distance, could level all opposition. Thus the only defence against such projectile weapons were more guns. While bows are no match for guns, the decimations that resulted with their introduction are related to the loss of bows and arrows in most parts of Polynesia as the preparation involved in defending against the bow would have afforded a different way of thought to the defences provided in pa. Although it was not entirely eliminated from the articulation of Maori culture, the pre-contact vernacular of the pa was made rapidly obsolete.<sup>170</sup> Later versions of pa, were, if based round the same principles, re-articulated in such ways as to defend against gun and even artillery bearing attackers, and were also predicated on the use of guns from within the pa as well.

Much as pa sites were modified and then made obsolete by European technology, the European sailing ship, both faster and more able as a sea-going vessel than the traditional canoe, would over time completely relegate those vessels. While fishing canoes might have continued utility, the very

<sup>168</sup> Best, *The Pa Maori*. pp 20-34.

<sup>169</sup> In which the French managed to successfully and quickly invest a pa-site in retribution for some Maori killings. Mascarin (Ship) et al., *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand in May-July 1772 of the French Ships Mascarin and Marquis De Castries under the Command of M.-J. Marion Du Fresne*, Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life ; 2 (Wellington, N.Z.: Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust : Indosuez New Zealand Ltd., 1985).

<sup>170</sup> Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 21.

large and economically expensive war-waka were outmoded except as an expression of carving prowess, or in some rare cases, mana.<sup>171</sup> The skills and investment previously directed to this channel could then be re-directed into the construction and refurbishing of elaborate whare. While the first and later European houses were hardly expressive in the same manner as Maori whare might be, nevertheless their sheer size by comparison would have been an object of contemplation. So, commensurate with the loss of the defensive pa in its original configuration there was an equivalent diminution in the role of the great war canoes.

The importance of the carved house took on a new aspect and it is clear that over time the great carved houses, originally few in number, became increasingly the eminent form of Maori artistic expression and the representational icon of hapu. This is evident in the context of descriptions provided by early visitors and then settlers in New Zealand. Where Cook et al see a surfeit of mighty carved canoes, later visitors to Maori villages offer artistic renditions of the carved meeting house and by the late nineteenth century some such houses had reached a scale likely only dreamt of before.

At the same time, there was a rapid transition from an expression of purely Maori idiom to the fabric of this same – the carvings and other decorations – displayed and appended over the engineered framework of a European hall. Posts, poles and supports, joins, nails and tin roofs – the European frame – all girded by the carved essence, the various whakairo that, in reality, differentiates the Maori whare.

Other technology in the form of metal tools changed wood-working of all kinds as well. Metal axes were more efficient at cutting trees than stone tools ever could be and saws were better again. Thus a true wealth of wood could be utilised with less recourse to labour. Chisels and other forged wood-working tools were finer than equivalent stone tools and may have made wood more malleable under the hands of master-carvers.

While the original usage of marae would have been much the same as the European or otherwise village, with designated areas for both secular living spaces and sacred precincts, over time the usage has changed and the way in which the marae entity must be described and defined has thus also changed.

As we have discussed, the New Zealand conception of the (modern) marae was rooted in two initial forms. First, the pa: a protective enclosure, usually found on steep, easily defended hillsides and consisting of numerous protective palisades and earthworks. The whole enclosure would normally have contained food storage pits and a number of houses. These are the complexes most regularly described by early visitors to New Zealand and certainly from a distance, both their numbers (literally thousands) and relative scale should have demonstrated the Maori propensity for war, during the early

---

<sup>171</sup> Or, these days, as a cultural expression. In fact, there is only one extant, large war canoe that is not of recent provenance, Te Toki a Tapiri, currently housed at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, and discussed in a later section.

days of Maori-European cultural exchange. In some ways this was countered in European eyes by the relative unguardedness of these fortifications to the musket. As we have discussed, had Maori even retained bow and arrow the design of these fortifications may have been entirely different.

Nevertheless, while the Tahitian priest and translator, Tupaia, travelling on the *Endeavour* with Cook was inclined to associate pa with the Tahitian marae, there was another housing form as well. Tupaia was no doubt influenced both by the imposing monumentalism of pa – albeit with a wooden rather than stone interface – and their carved guardians, perhaps reminiscent of Tahitian gods. The second form from which the modern marae would ultimately descend was the regular village (or kainga) of each local hapu, sacred only in portions, undefended by walls.

In general, based on the evidence of early nineteenth century descriptions, such as those of Savage and Polack, Maori villages lay near to the food resources, gardens and fishing grounds so essential for the daily existence of any population. These descriptions are substantiated by the relationship discussed previously linking pa-sites and horticultural centres, between which there is a direct geographic correlation. While there were obviously many pa this number was likely exceeded by the number of kainga. In part as some pa were the focal point for more than one hapu, a singular pa thus providing protection for several villages. As well, a single hapu might have more than one kainga. This was no duplication of facilities, but rather recognition that with sometimes tenuous resources, food gathering sometimes necessitated temporary discomfort for short periods with the solution being the manufacture of short term shelters as required; *temporary* kainga. Much in the same way that in Maori society as a whole, valuable food and (arable) land needed protection from other iwi; which dictated the solution of pa situated in difficult terrain; *permanent* protected kainga. Not so much protecting the land and resources so much as safeguarding people, to reclaim possession after the attackers had left.

At some places, trading points, for instance, like those described by Cook and his crew in the Marlborough Sounds, temporary shelters may have been thrown up by locals and visitors alike. Cook visited this area more than once and spent a proportionately long period of time here. It was evident however that while there were regular settlements this was also a busy cross-roads through which trading parties regularly traversed. Shelters, technically where might be mere bivouacs even, used for the duration of a trading expedition, whether it should take a few days or a few weeks. While such shelters may have had the appearance of (small) villages as several groups gathered within one place for a short period, real villages were briefly formed at centres of food production by single hapu. These, also temporary villages, were fashioned to allow the hapu to stay at a single point for the duration of a food cycle, a period of crop growing for instance, or the harvesting of plentiful fish at a certain time of year. They were a distinct if streamlined and simplified, form of village. Far to the South, in Te Wai Pounamu (the South Island), where resources were most spare and population low, even the nicety of the village may have been dispensed with. It is easy to speculate that the belongings

of those few people were carried with them and no more than rude shelters were erected to serve a little while before continuing to the next set of resources.<sup>172</sup>

The village proper was a different matter.

In many or even most instances, hapu would have erected permanent, well-built structures, in the form of a village, with houses both large and small depending on the circumstances of their owners. Such villages are regularly described by early settlers and visitors such as Ernst Dieffenbach, John Savage and Joel Polack, in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>173</sup> The schema of a village (kainga) should be familiar to all, houses and homes gathered together, some fenced, some not.

Uncompassed by these mere buildings however is another chart showing a less material outline, where the structures are amorphous and more metaphysical, where the inhabitants are bound by a different mind-space of the Maori concepts of mana, tikanga and tapu. While the village would not have had the palisades or commensurate structures of the pa, there were no doubt other spiritual injunctions at work, with a sacred space known as the marae atea, a large house or Whare nui for the rangatira or ariki and often nearby an urupa (funerary ground), for the burial of bodies or bones.

### Nineteenth century marae

The rapid introduction of European crop-foods such as the potato, cabbage and the pig meant that for the first time large sections of the population had an active food surplus. These were foods which were more suitable to the climate and growing conditions of New Zealand than ever were the bread-fruit and taro, or even the actual Pacific island staple and horticultural survivor: the kumara. Given time this would likely have had a substantial effect on the New Zealand population and it can be speculated would have both eased and increased pressure on cleared horticultural land. Cleared land would still have been at a premium, causing friction. Better growing crops would have helped increase populations, increasing pressure. There is some immediate evidence for this in the flourishing supply trade literally propagated by Maori with early whalers, sealers and traders. However, such gains were soon more than mitigated by the rapid uptake of guns amongst New Zealand Maori and the almost immediate slaughter effected using these weapons as utu was instigated for past defeats and other wrong-doing.

It is difficult to calculate, but this fighting certainly caused deaths numbering tens of thousands and would continue for decades. Unhappily, as with other long isolated cultures, Maori were also severely susceptible to many European diseases such as tuberculosis, typhoid and syphilis and

---

<sup>172</sup> Cook et al., observations regarding time spent in Doubtful Sound.

<sup>173</sup> Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand : With Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of That Country*.

John Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand* (London: J. Murray, 1807).

Polack, *New Zealand : Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures During a Residence in That Country between the Years 1831 and 1837*.

whatever the vector of infection, Maori numbers were also pushed into sharp decline by disease. Finally, from 1840 and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, land-sales and colonisation proceeded at a pace no doubt undreamt of by even the most urbane of Maori, and land ownership by Maori decreased equally sharply.

The corollary with the abandonment of pa was straightforward. Pa-sites, which had been situated on difficult terrain gave way to settlements on flat land, generally we can assume, near horticultural resources. These kainga, were recapitulations of the villages that had been observed and described by numerous European visitors to pa, during the earlier years of European occupation. Surely however they were affected by the economic adversity which must be coupled to land-loss, population loss and seemingly loss of mana as a people.

Still, the marae plan of the nineteenth century is neatly detailed by contemporary descriptions. They were collections of houses, or more strictly huts, usually with a separate cooking and eating whare for every whanau. These whare whanau were, in earlier times anyway, segregated by fences. There might be a superior house, invariably in this case for rangatira, in which the rangatira lived. In some instances, specialist Whare nui were kept for visitors and it is often claimed that the first carved Whare nui of this type was *Te Hau ki Turanga*, built in the early 1840s. While that might seem a very recent provenance for the house, the ideals and inceptions as we have discussed, were far older. Each of: the sacral, or at least important, marae atea space; carved ancestral figures, and warding rituals, had existed from time immemorial, in each case almost certainly from before the arrival of Maori in New Zealand. What had changed in each instance was the particular Maori vocalisation of these thoughts.

The walls of the pa were abandoned after the conclusion of wars between Maori and settlers. All the other aspects which make up the modern marae remained in use – and some, such as the Whare nui actually took on increased importance as Maori, still cognisant of the role of mana and whakapapa in their lives sought other outlets to show this. Thus rather than rangatira alone, whole hapu became the progenitors and patrons of carved Whare nui, the Whare whakairo which from the 1870s onwards have become the preeminent expression of Maori art and culture.

### **Depopulation, patronage and the pa**

After the arrival of the first settlers, but commencing really from some unknown point, the Maori population of New Zealand proceeded to diminish and continued to do so for a hundred years until the 1890s. At this remove, a hundred and twenty years after the lowest point of Maori population in New Zealand, the numbers and statistics do little justice to the dramatic extent and nature of the loss of life. This is abetted by the inconsistency of population estimates dating to the period before Cook's arrival. The smaller the estimates, the less shocking such population losses may statistically seem. It is

one of the reasons that controversy continues and has even stirred recent political debate about the nature and extent of depopulation amongst nineteenth century New Zealand Maori.

Reading European accounts from that period however is sobering. It paints a word picture of empty fortifications, fields and homes that is inherently more poignant than any collection of numbers:

There is also the most unmistakable evidence that vast tracts of country, which have lain wild time out of mind, were once fully cultivated. The ditches for draining the land are still traceable, and large pits are to be seen in hundreds, on the tops of the dry hills, all over the northern part of the North Island, in which the kumera were once stored; and these pits are, in the greatest number, found in the centre of great open tracts of uncultivated country.<sup>174</sup>

Or Jameson, when referring to the emptying of pa: “The number of these strongholds, even in parts of the country which are now uninhabited, denote that in former times the New Zealanders were much more numerous and warlike than at the present day [1841]”.<sup>175</sup>

These accounts are only half a story as well. Estimates suggest anywhere between 100,000 and 200,000 Maori at the time of contact with Cook.<sup>176</sup> In 1845 George Clarke estimated there were 110,000 Maori (of whom about 64,000 professed Christianity).<sup>177</sup> Definite numbers of Maori continued to decrease, from about 60,000 in 1860 to the final low-point of about 42,000 in 1896.<sup>178</sup> Pa were abandoned for a number of reasons. One part was population loss, simply, fewer people meant that many formerly occupied villages, lands and pa were quietly abandoned. Another reason was the introduction of (peaceful) Christianity, although that can easily be coupled with the introduction of European economies as well, placing value on production, both goods and labour. Lastly, the conclusion of the Land Wars, which continued until about 1872, was the final cause for the surcease of pa building and maintenance. There was no longer an external enemy; Maori had little further need, or exhausted by war with the colonial military, ability, to argue either amongst themselves or with the colonial government by using mass violence.

In reality, the Maori people had either been suborned or subjugated, and palisades, stockades and so on were a wasted economic outlay. Besides, the system of mana had been lessened, or largely transformed. Mana was more difficult to acquire as both inter-tribal hostilities continued to decrease and the meaning of mana was changing. As the belief in tapu was decreasing the power of those who

<sup>174</sup> Maning, *Old New Zealand : Being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times*.pg 181.

<sup>175</sup> Quoted in: Best, *The Pa Maori*. pg 29.

<sup>176</sup> Historians and others are entirely equivocal, there are many different opinions and it purposes little to document them all. The (huge) range of 100,000 to 200,000 is thus a starting point for this discussion. It is my personal opinion, that the numbers were closer to the high figure.

<sup>177</sup> Sinclair, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*. pg 32.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*. pg 86.



25 – George French Angas – Maketu house at Otawhao Pah, built by Puatia, to commemorate the taking of Maketu (1844).

While larger carved houses may have been becoming more common, the decline in the prestige and usage of traditional pa meant that there were remnant carved figures, specifically tumu figures (carvings from waka were likewise re-used) which were given new uses, as can be clearly seen here. The house *Tamatekapua* at Ohinemutu for instance incorporates waka carvings.

were tapu because of mana must also have been called slowly into question. Patronage was thus also entirely modified. Originally, the exercise of mana had allowed patronage of large projects based on labour resourcing, such as pa. It was rangatira and ariki who led the creation of pa-sites as the leaders of hapu. Such instigation is demonstrated a number of times in this section as the commissioning of various waka and carved buildings is discussed, invariably commissioned at the behest of a named rangatira. Likewise, in the past, and until their final termination, pa had been built for hapu, by hapu but as determined or desired by the leaders of those hapu, their rangatira. Equally, specific, very *expensive* projects such as the production of war canoes could be funded entirely by individuals given that they were resourced by an entire tribe; ariki and rangatira controlling those resources. In some instances, the widespread practice of carving had been extended into the production of highly ornamented houses built specifically for chiefs.<sup>179</sup> (See figure 25).

<sup>179</sup> Anne Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings* (Wellington [N.Z.]: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1975). pp 78-80.



This change in patronage is illustrated neatly by the common vernacular employed and the expressions of patronage. It is generally thought that there was modification in the principal medium of Maori whakairo, dating from the time of European contact and Cook, to roughly one hundred years later and the conclusion of the Land Wars. In that argument, over that period, originally the majority of fine carving was concentrated on carved waka, for some time as these became less important, (large) pataka (storage houses) became the new form of expression and finally, from the 1850s onwards, the carved Whare nui took precedence. This progression is certainly made evident in Neich's *Carved Histories*. However, it is the contention of this thesis that there had always been an equivalent and was a continued outlay in the production of carvings within the precincts of pa; in tumu figures, in carved waharoa and other whakairo in Whare rangatira and lastly in occasional pieces for many regular whare. While Waka taua were the most *visible* product of carving, concentrating as they did so many carvings in a single place, nevertheless an entire carving vernacular was spread around pa. It was present in many parts and later (in the mid-nineteenth century onwards) came to be fully concentrated in carved Whare nui. The re-use of carvings from waka is thus seen not as a reaction to the loss of their mana and usage, but rather as a continued investment of their inherited mana, into a pre-existing form: the Whare nui. Co-incident with this was the decline of the pa and the concentration of those formerly wide-spread carvings also into that singular point of expression. What really changed I contend was the form of patronage; certain expressions became more important over time because of changes in the economic resourcing of Maori patrons. Changes in mana and its relationship to an increasingly European economy were what modified the principal vernacular.

The famed Te Arawa rangatira Te Pokiha Taranui (1820s?-1901), often known as Major Fox, for instance bestrides this period in which the colonisation of New Zealand really was completed. While the relationship between his patronage and thus *ownership* of Maori objects is tied deeply to his personal mana, this mana becomes increasingly relatable to economic change in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This is the idea that ownership could be tied to a single commissioning individual, regardless of where the resources to *fund* the construction came from. Te Pokiha himself relates his prestige to this patronage:

At one time I was the owner of a very large canoe called Te Arawa ... There are three large houses now standing at Mourea. One is called Te Awanui, another called Manuhuia and another one recently built called Te Takinga. At Te Takehe there are two large meeting houses standing - one is called Rangitihi, Tutea and my carved house at Maketu is called Kawatapuarangi and I have a carved pataka called Tahuakatere. ... Although the claimant presumes to be my equal in rank, my resources are far

beyond his, so I leave the court to judge whether these are signs of a common individual or a great chief.<sup>180</sup>

Te Pokiha makes arguments that can be understood both in Te Ao Maori and Te Ao Pakeha. Europeans would certainly understand that Te Pokiha was of high standing because he was a ‘man of means’, the owner of a number of *properties*. At the same time however, Te Pokiha is not enumerating liquid assets so much as listing repositories of his mana. Each of the properties demonstrate not so much personal ownership in a European sense – although strictly speaking that was the case – but rather the prestige (mana) that he wielded in sufficient strength to act as patron for these many large and *expensive* projects. To have such great mana to do this, it is implicit in his statement, he must clearly be a very great rangatira. Over time however, European inceptions meant that Maori things took on European value and could be purchased eventually for money; money equating to prestige in a different way obviously than mana ever had. So for instance in each of the following cases, which trace a famous canoe and a famous pataka.

*Te Toki a Tapiri*, the only surviving original large Waka taua, was first constructed for the Ngati Kahungunu chief Te Waka Tarakau about 1836, presumably with the idea it would be used in war.<sup>181</sup> (See figure 26). The name of this waka, the Blade of Tapiri, celebrates Tarakau’s ancestor, Tapiri.<sup>182</sup> This is unsurprising when seen in the context of the earlier discussions regarding Maori being a canoe, as well as house society. However, prior to its completion it was presented as a gift to the Rongowhakaata chief, Te Waka Perohuka who, with others, carved the stern section, prow and gunwales.<sup>183</sup> Tarakau had received a famous cloak in exchange for the uncompleted waka. The exchange was thus based on the principles of utu and mana, the uncompleted waka imbued with mana roughly equivalent to the cloak. In 1853 the canoe was given by Perohuka to the brothers Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone of Ngapuhi to mark the cessation of Ngapuhi raids on the Rongowhakaata.<sup>184</sup> They in return gifted Perohuka a stallion which he gave to Tarakau, the original owner. A further utu exchange, which shows that the utu had remained unbalanced from the original exchange of a cloak for the canoe. The gift of the canoe from Rongowhakaata to Ngapuhi was another mana and utu exchange, this one showing the signs of a decrease in inter-tribal warfare. However in 1863 the waka was *sold* to Ngati te Ata. This signals that by 1863 at least the canoe was

<sup>180</sup> Introduction by Te Pokiha to the Rotorua Land Court, 1882, quoted in: Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pg 193.

<sup>181</sup> Of the Ngati mata-whaiti hapu. New Zealand Historical Association. and New Zealand. Ministry for Culture and Heritage., *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* ([Wellington]: New Zealand Historical Association, 2002).

<sup>182</sup> Although information for this has been verified elsewhere, some of this may be found summarised at the Auckland War memorial Museum here:

[http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/site\\_resources/EducationPDF/Art\\_02ArtKitNew.pdf](http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/site_resources/EducationPDF/Art_02ArtKitNew.pdf)

<sup>183</sup> Actually the six Tohunga whakairo rakau: Timoti Rangi-toto-hihira; Wiremu Te Kikiwi; Patoromiu Pakapaka; Natanahira; Toumata and Mahumahu. The manner of this gifting is discussed again in a later chapter.

<sup>184</sup> [http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/site\\_resources/EducationPDF/Art\\_02ArtKitNew.pdf](http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/site_resources/EducationPDF/Art_02ArtKitNew.pdf)

not so useful to Ngapuhi, and in fact had not been useful to Rongowhakaata either – what after all is the point of a war canoe when you are no longer warring? So, the mana of the canoe had not only declined but at the third exchange it also now had a notional economic value. This is confirmed by the payment of (monetary) compensation to Ngati te Ata by the crown, after the waka had been confiscated in 1863.

Similarly, the exquisite pataka, *Te Puawai o Te Arawa* or, The Flower of Te Arawa, was completed for the Ngati Pikiao chief Te Pokiha Taranui, at Maketu in the late 1860s. (See figure 27). The pataka was also known as *Tubua Katoore*, or apparently the Pit of the Monster.<sup>185</sup> Pataka, storage houses, are seldom mentioned in this thesis, not because they were not important, but really because they were a differing expression of many of the other ideals that are treated here. Some things bear directly on the arguments of this thesis however – the use of poles for instance to suspend some, or even most pataka above the ground has for instance a direct relationship to the stilt houses found throughout the warmer portions of the Pacific.

In another vein, the (carved) decoration of pataka, placed on the outside facing outwards, was a manifestation of two things. First, inner carvings, invisible, as a store-house would seldom be entered, would have been a wasted attribution of mana. Second, the warding effect of carved figures, so evident in the carved tumu on pa stockades, and in the guardian carvings of some carved houses, were turned outwards. The pataka was after all there principally to protect and ward treasures and food. In part, the pataka is an expression of Te Pokiha's mana; it includes for instance detailed genealogical references to his ancestors amongst the carvings. It is also possibly the largest pataka ever completed and was not designed for mere food storage. However, the house was purchased from Te Pokiha for the Auckland Museum in 1894. He had clearly decided that money would be more valuable than the continued mana articulated by owning this house. This is detailed in some minutes from the Royal Society of New Zealand:

Some years ago it was intimated to them ... that this famous house could be purchased; but at that time there were difficulties in the way of money matters [the price was too high]. A few weeks ago, however, Mr. Fenton obtained an offer of the house at a very reasonable price, and at once placed it before the Council.<sup>186</sup>

In fact, we can clearly infer that the house continued to decrease in value to Te Pokiha; he lowers his asking price. The mana (and presumably economic resources) that Te Pokiha wielded, to commission the construction of this house in the first place, was his for two reasons. First, he had been born a rangatira, but perhaps more importantly in his case, he had been a renowned fighting

<sup>185</sup> Royal Society of New Zealand., *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., 1935). pg 674, Volume 27, 1894.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid. pg 674, Volume 27, 1894.

chief. Such accrued mana and the ability to wield economic resources decreased rapidly after the cessation of hostilities and decreased the possibility of important construction by direct patronage.

Other examples of the change in the manner of patronage are clear throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, thus, although carving may have continued to become less expensive, equivalently, fewer Maori could afford to pay for the dramatic expression represented by an entire house. Carving, as is discussed more extensively elsewhere had already become valued in European terms, specifically money. The decline in population and even malaise within Maori society had also decreased the demand for carving, especially in economic terms. As well, the labour costs had certainly decreased as carving could be accomplished faster using European tools and technology. The decline in patronage is most evident when the difficult economic circumstances of some carvers are shown. Anaha Te Rahui for instance, when carving the patterns that are discussed in this thesis was “so poor that he was begging to be paid for his work, so he could buy essential items such as flour and tea.”<sup>187</sup>

This inability of Maori to afford new prestige whare can be attributed to any combination of the loss of the power of mana, economic debilitation due to land loss, or the difficulties entailed by continued population decreases. Amongst the last individually Maori commissioned houses were those of *Hotunui* and *Maatatua* in the 1870s, *Hotunui* as a wedding dowry for Mereana Mekomoko, when she married Taipari of Ngati Maru.<sup>188</sup> By the 1920s, when Princess Te Puea built the house *Mahinarangi* – the house was opened in March 1929 – even as a member of the most politically potent ariki line in Maoridom, she had to do so by raising funds with concert parties touring the nation. This was the famous concert group, Te Pou o Mangatawhiri, whose name was taken from the post (or pou) in the Waikato, beyond which European authority and land-sales had been interdicted by the Kingitanga. The name itself is a subtle reclamation of mana to and by Te Puea.<sup>189</sup>

The diminution of Maori economic power after the Land Wars is illustrated succinctly by the story of the house *Rangitibi*, which, like each of *Te Toki a Tapiri* the Waka taua, and the pataka, *Te Puawai o Te Arawa*, now resides in the Auckland War Memorial Museum. In the case of *Rangitibi* in a deconstructed state; most of its parts are retained in storage. Nor are these random selections – it is no coincidence that much of the finest Maori heritage resides in museums, some part may be differing cultural values regarding care and preservation, but another part entirely is the economic hegemony Europeans created over Maori. In some traditions, whare were left to slowly decay over time. Conversely of course the tradition of the museum has been to preserve them:

<sup>187</sup> [Sidney M. Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo* (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1995). pg 168] This is also detailed by Roger Neich: Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pp 226-9.

<sup>188</sup> D. R. Simmons, *The Maori Meeting House = Te Whare Runanga* (Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1997).pg 35.

<sup>189</sup> Te Puea Herangi (1883-1952). Member of the Tainui ariki lines, famous niece of the Maori King Mahuta. Established the marae Turangawaewae, now one of the centrepieces of Maori culture.

In 1867, at which time several notable houses were being erected in the East Coast districts, it was suggested by Captain G. Mair and Mr. H. T. Clarke that one should be built at Taheke, near which a considerable number of Maoris were then living. The proposal was taken up by the Maoris with very great enthusiasm. The carving was undertaken by Wero, Anaha te Rahui, and others of the Ngatitarawhai Tribe, with several well-known carvers of the Ngatipikiao Tribe.<sup>190</sup> A large sum of money was collected from the neighbouring Maoris, many who were then employed by the Government as militia contributing a fixed proportion of their regular pay. The carving occupied between three and four years, and many of the side slabs were carved from the sides of famous old war-canoes which had been in the possession of the Maoris for generations, and which had been used against the Tohourangi at Te Arika, and which had been dragged overland into Tarawera Lake. The house was completed about 1871. The principal owner was Te Waata Taranui, elder brother of the late Pokiha Taranui (Major Fox). It was named Rangitihi, after the well-known hero of that name, who, next to Tama-te-Kapua, was the most renowned ancestor of the Arawas. The house was nearly 60 ft. long by 25 ft. wide, and had a height of about 18 ft. to the crown of the roof. In 1882 Te Waata died, and was buried within the veranda, or porch, of the house. ... During the eruption of Tarawera the roof of the house was broken in by the vast quantity of mud lodged upon it. The house was consequently taken down and removed to Maketu, with the intention of re-erecting it there, a project which, for want of funds, was never carried out.<sup>191</sup>

These notes were made in 1901 after the successful purchase of the whare for the then Auckland Museum. There are two subcutaneous stories told here, the first is that of the patronage, because although the resources to create the Whare whakairo come from many hapu members, the house is certainly owned by Te Waata Taranui and as stated earlier, by his brother Te Pokiha Taranui. This perceptual ownership is nothing more than the exercise *of* mana to create an important receptacle *for* mana, both for the hapu and for the patrons; no different an exercise than had occurred in the past. What had changed however was the introduction of European economic values; rather than providing resources, the patrons received money from hapu members employed within the colonial economy and used that money to pay for work from carvers. Previously of course the remuneration would have been in the form of the exchange of prestige items, for instance cloaks or greenstone, imbued with their own mana. (Refer to table 1, below). This would have been augmented with domestic arrangements during the course of the carving. Besides which, the carvers, or Tohunga whakairo rakau would have garnered mana with their work, but as is discussed below, the mana of carvers was clearly compromised by the steady introduction of colonial values.

<sup>190</sup> Anaha Kepa Te Rahui, (also called Anaha Matao) belonged to the Ngati Tarawhai hapu of Te Arawa. He was born probably in the 1820's and died in 1913. He was also a leader of Ngati Tarawhai.

<sup>191</sup> Royal Society of New Zealand., *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*. Volume 34, 1901. pp 573-4.

The second story is simpler yet. After the house was damaged in the 1886 Tarawera volcanic eruption it was deconstructed and moved to Maketu, but never reconstructed. Why not? Apparently because of resourcing; the local hapu simply did not have the excess resources to re-erect it. It is easy to surmise that money had been readily available throughout the period when Te Arawa warriors worked with the colonial government, for instance during the period when *Rangitahi* was built, but that this resource was entirely gone by the 1890s. This is an abject change in circumstance, as any reconstruction was clearly far less of an expense than had been the original construction. In a not dissimilar change in circumstance, the Whare whakairo *Hinemihini*, was also sold after the Tarawera eruption, to Lord Onslow, in 1892 having remained derelict for six years.

It is important to note lastly that the house was partly constructed from old Waka taua. This should not be surprising as the carvings in particular, and even to some extent the wood alone, were full of mana, even if the prestige of the waka as a weapon had been entirely obviated.

The change in remuneration over time is made obvious when comparing multiple transactions, in this case Ngati Pikiao and Ngati Tarawhai canoe exchanges over the course of about fifty years (see table below). Mana value exchanges gave way to valuable European weaponry and finally to money. It is also interesting to note the change in status of Te Waata and his brother Te Pokiha as they commence as builders but



26 & 27 – Photographs by the author – Auckland War Memorial Museum *Te Toki a Tapiri* and *Te Puawai o Te Arawa* (2005-6).

*Te Toki a Tapiri* (detail of stern, above) and *Te Puawai o Te Arawa* (below). While this does not show the immense size of a waka (hopefully detailed in earlier images) it does give an impression of the time and effort required for the extensive carving on waka, an important element in the embodiment of its mana.

Although clearly the size of a reasonably sized whare, *Te Puawai* deliberately retains some of the characteristic features of pataka: it is raised above ground on poles, has a very small entrance and the carvings face outwards on the porch and around the walls for display. It is a repository not only of objects, but of mana, displayed in the carvings themselves.



Table 1 - Table of Canoe transactions				
Date	Canoe	Owner/Builder	Patron	Payment
Pre 1823	<i>Murirangawhenua</i>	Te Kikiwa		2 dogskin cloaks, patu, Hei tiki
Pre 1823	<i>Te Hapuhararaki</i>	Te Kikiwa		2 dogskin cloaks
Pre 1823	<i>Taumahaate</i>			Valuable weapon
Pre 1823	<i>Te Ahikakariki</i>			Greenstone Mere
Pre 1823		Te Kikiwa		Whalebone patu, garment
1832	<i>Waiunuora</i>			Ammunition
1833	<i>Rangimaikuku</i>	Taranui		1 cask powder
1833	<i>Ngatarataua</i>	Te Waata Taranui & Te Wehi o te Rangi	Ngati Maru	3 casks powder, 1 gun
1833	<i>Te Rere ki Oropi</i>	Te Waata Taranui & Te Wehi o te Rangi	Ngati Maru	2 guns
1833	<i>Te Iwituaroa</i>	Te Whanarere	Ngati Whakaue	1 gun, 1 cask powder, 1 horse
1836		Ngati Tarawhai	Ngati Parua	1 dogskin cloak
1836-8	<i>Te Arahī</i>	Ngati Tarawhai	Ngati Whakaue	1 gun six blankets
1847-60		Ngati Tarawhai	Ngati Whakaue	1 gun
1847-60		Ngati Tarawhai	Ngati Whakaue	Flax garments
1852	<i>Nga Tau e Waru</i>	Anaha te Rahui & Matene te Huaki	Ngapuhi	60 pounds, 100 garments
1854	<i>Tokerau</i>	Te Waata Taranui & Te Pokiha	Ngati Maru	100 pounds
1860	<i>Te Reitu</i>	Ngati Tarawhai		150 pounds wanted
1860-68	<i>Te Arawa</i>	Anaha te Rahui & Wiremu Kingi te Ohu	Te Pokiha & Te Waata	20 pounds, Greenstone mere
This table is derived from a larger table in Roger Neich's <i>Carved Histories</i> . <sup>192</sup>				

over time become patrons of construction. To some extent this echoes the change in their personal mana.

Clearly there had been political will in New Zealand to create large permanent structures, but where in the Pacific Islands these had often taken the form of religious monuments, in New Zealand they had centred on pa.

In New Zealand, the unique marae came to exist as an expression of Maoriness that thoroughly replaced the pa and at the same time continued to encapsulate Maori ideals of atua, mana and tapu

<sup>192</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pp 180-1.

that were generally superseded during the course of the nineteenth century. While most Maori no longer believed in the sort of godhead that whakairo had once been, or in the overwhelming implications of tapu in daily life, marae and Whare whakairo nevertheless maintained a respectful aura, of both mana and sacredness, lessened in strength from the pervasive tapu of the past. Some continuity of beliefs had been maintained in a new form, the nascent modern marae.

The old gods and ways had abandoned the people and Christianity offered a new solution. This was coupled with the cultural malaise of an ever declining culture and the inability to maintain old values when there are constantly decreasing numbers of adherents, and experts in those ways. The result was a loss of forms, understanding and even faith. New Zealand, its population denuded, was however on the upper scale of this terrible attrition and here, some manner of the traditional way of life has been closely maintained.

### **Apirana Ngata and the new marae**

If there is a perceptible force that can be held responsible for the transformation between the nineteenth century outline of the marae and the modern form, which today is the perceptual ideal of the marae, then it is really the will of a single person, the Maori politician and leader, Sir Apirana Ngata. Ngata, for many years an MP and minister in several governments, holds the distinction as well of being the first Maori graduate and was, with others, one of the motivators of the Maori 'renaissance', a sort of rebirth of our culture after the slow, declensions of the preceding century. It was Ngata who realised that there had been a dramatic decrease in the number of skilled carvers and sought to reverse this decline and it was Ngata who, with his own very particular ideas and preferences, effectively instituted the modernisation of marae.

Sir Apirana Ngata's influence was essentially three-fold. As the premiere Maori political leader, his personal mana, policies and beliefs had a bearing on the construction or implementation of Maori building projects whether he was actively involved in them or not. As well, Ngata was fundamental in instituting the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua, which was responsible both for the training of many if not most of the next generation of carvers, but also for numerous building projects from its foundation and over the course of the next thirty years; and these buildings were to become the exemplars of Maori architecture thereafter. Lastly, Ngata had a personal programme; he had his own thoughts and preferences and beliefs which were implemented particularly at his behest and which transformed Maori architecture in many ways.

Ngata apparently discovered the increasing dearth of skilled carvers when seeking carvings for his own house near Ruatoria on the East Coast of the North Island. The ultimate result of this was the establishment of a carving school, The School of Maori Arts and Crafts, at Rotorua in 1926, opening in 1927. The school operated for many years and can be singled out for both its role in training a



large number of new carvers, but equally for the production of many important carved architectural works, thus deeply influencing the future of the Maori marae. Deidre Brown in fact lists a total of 40 buildings produced by the carvers from the School over the period 1927-1958. It was not however the sheer number of buildings, or variety (buildings included dining halls and churches as well as carved whare) but the iconic importance of a number of the buildings that would help establish the credentials of the School. Amongst these buildings were: St Faiths church in Rotorua; the restoration of *Te Hau ki Turanga* in the Dominion Museum; the restoration of *Porourangi*, Ngata's own ancestral

Whare nui; the construction the *Whare runanga* at Waitangi; and of *Mahinarangi* at Turangawaewae for Princess Te Puea.

Such buildings, by example, influenced Maori whare everywhere, in a way that had never occurred before. Their prominence made real by the ease of transport and communication that was evident in twentieth century New Zealand, a significant cultural difference over the nineteenth century. Carved houses however were nothing new, what was different were the new approaches to both the carving and the construction of these buildings; a particular methodology was institutionalised really for the first time. Before the School, while some buildings used European features, after the School's influence I surmise that whare across the country were never the same again; for the first time they became genuinely European buildings, with a facade (both interior and exterior) of Maori carvings and other elements. As well, even many of these elements were produced in non-traditional, or not strictly traditional ways.



28 & 29 – Photographs by the author – Pacific Island Churches, Rarotonga and Samoa (2005-6).

Where marae complexes or their equivalent were the most obvious monumental architectural features of pre-contact Pacific Island cultures, the most obvious structures today are the innumerable (often white-washed) churches found on Pacific Islands, as seen above (Rarotonga) and below (Samoa).



There are of course numerous reasons to have a European style construction base for a whare; one of course is government regulation, which has become an increasing presence over time in New Zealand. Others are reasons of virtue and cost; standardised materials are less expensive to purchase and use, while increasingly modern materials such as treated timber and tin/iron/aluminium rooves were clearly more practicable. It was a practical case of technological advancement for the base structure of whare. So, using basic architectural plans (as opposed to the mental map held by traditional *tohunga*) new constructions would support standard modern architectural features: concrete foundations, metal or wooden framing, usually corrugated metal roofing and so on. Additional to these elements were design features of European buildings that were a-traditional to the Maori ideal: raised seating, wooden floorboards, stages. Whare, but most particularly the new Whare kai or dining halls could take on other roles as required. They might effectively be used to hold performances in some instances, were more easily useable during church services, could act as dance-halls even. While the new underlying core of essentially Maori buildings might be obvious to the architectonically schooled or on the outside at least, with a modern timber sheath and tin roof, the inside was rapidly organised to carefully disguise the melange that had occurred. As Damien Skinner puts it:

In a few earlier whare whakairo, like Te Poho o Rawiri in Gisborne, Ta Apirana allowed the steel cross-beams to show, and he decorated these with *kowhaiwhai*, as though they were just another *heke*, only standing on edge rather than lying flat. But by the time of Te Tiriti o Waitangi Whare Runanga five years later, all such signs of the new structural technologies were carefully disguised.<sup>193</sup>

It was not that Maori were ashamed of this utilisation of a different cultures tools and techniques, it was simply that a Maori form already existed and its preservation in whare was promulgated by a crafty usage of *legerdemain*; the interior of whare maintained the same air, mystery and presence they had always commanded. They *felt* more *tapu* and seemed more traditional when disbelief was easily suspended. The incursion of European modes thus appeared to cease at the *tapu* barrier of the *paepae* and was certainly erased on crossing the inner threshold of the *kuwaha*. The interior of whare, with the exception of wooden floorboards, seemed little different from older, traditional buildings; they were filled with the same carved ancestors and were often dark-seeming and brooding-feeling. In reality however, they were structurally entirely different: buildings were now all raised not subterranean; often they had more than a single window or door; the *poupou* were neither buried in the earth nor intrinsic to the structure. Over time, old whare either disappeared due to the attrition of weather and time, or in some instances were renovated into the twentieth century. The eventual

---

<sup>193</sup> Damien Skinner, "Another Modernism : Maoritanga and Maori Modernism in the 20th Century" (Thesis (PhD, Art History)--Victoria University of Wellington, 2005., 2005). pg 75.

consequence for this is that there are few remaining whare that pre-date the twentieth century and those now clearly exist as a meld of introduced European technology.

Another reality-shift however had also taken place with the carvings and other Maori features that are so essential to the super-natural life of the Whare whakairo (this is discussed more fully later). The act of carving was certainly less tapu than it had been, so for instance women might actually observe the whole process of carving, and as discussed previously, the utilisation of 'European' milled wood had removed the whole tapu selection process and all the associated ritual that had once been so important. While tapu-raising ceremonies at the opening of whare might continue as of old, the question of the continued power of these new carved ancestors must be asked: were they actually potent in the same ways that they had been? Likewise, the material for tukutuku patterns was simply gathered, not with recourse to traditional tapu methods, and in fact while Apirana Ngata sought to actively involve women in the building process by training them to make tukutuku, Peter Buck was certain that this had traditionally been men's work. And why ever not? The continued exertion of tapu on house-building in the past must surely have extended to every aspect of construction, not just most.

Questions of tapu aside, there were initial difficulties with the actual spatial nature of the carvings. Carvers by that time had lost the techniques of the nineteenth century and were relying on close-up carving tools, such as chisels, to the exclusion of initial axing and adzing. A lack of depth was evident in carvings and was only remedied about 1930 when an adze expert, Eramiha Kapua, joined the school. Using adzes to hew the wood from above changed the manner of carving and was an important step in reviving old-style techniques. There was a corollary though; Roger Neich suggests that with Kapua the dominant style of the school became that of Ngati Tarawhai; the end result of which was the dominance of Te Arawa carving forms in whare across the country.<sup>194</sup> Nor was this the only change, another dominance would no longer exist thereafter, for what I speculate was the first time, major carving was no longer created by those trained in wananga or from specifically chieftainly lines. The potency of personal mana derived via whakapapa was of little import when the belief in tapu was waning. Now commoners could carve at the highest level.

While it is certain that the School revived carving within Maoridom, this was instituted with a sort of faux traditionalism. Tapu was utilised in some instances and not others, European materials were used but disguised and in some cases, such as during the renovation of *Te Hau ki Turanga* a-traditional methods were used but obfuscated:

Barrow contrasted the old interior hand-dressed rafters that were thick enough for raised images to be carved into their ends, with the School's machine milled boards which had separate carved

---

<sup>194</sup> Brown, "Moorehu Architecture". pg 456.

attachments (Barrow 1976:18). In this instance, it appears that the School's definition of 'tradition' was style driven and not based on a faithful reconstruction of the past.<sup>195</sup>

This acceptance that European ways would henceforth completely underlie Maori whakairo is almost as important as the revival of those same crafts. Many analogies could be drawn, but, in reality, it was the whakapapa of Maori whakairo that had changed; new genes had been added to their blood-line and old threads had been quietly plucked out.

Apirana Ngata had a continuing influence on the School, not simply by involvement in it, but also as one of the initiators of commissions. As mentioned above, the importance of some of its projects had an outsize effect on other whare and other marae elsewhere. Marae have by the twenty-first century become standardised to some extent, but this process commenced in the 1930s with model new marae such as Turangawaewae, which as an exemplar would be copied repeatedly as marae were modernised or new modern marae were built where only a Whare nui, some houses and a marae atea had existed before. Modern marae were less concerned with communal living but more concerned with communal activities. Housing standards within Maoridom, as elsewhere in New Zealand continued to improve throughout the second half of the twentieth century and many traditional marae were immersed and surrounded by modern houses. The core buildings however now consisted – based on the new templates most visibly pioneered by Ngata and Te Puea – of a Whare nui, a dining hall and kitchen, ablution blocks and laid in front of them, the original marae atea. As Maori populations continued to increase over that same period, as transport became ever easier and as Maori became relatively more affluent than before, or at least had more funding made available to build marae, marae became more important for hosting than they had previously been. More visitors might come more regularly, for Maori purposes: family gatherings; hui (meetings); celebrations and tangi (funerals). Now they could quickly travel by car, bus or train, (or even more recently by plane) having been contacted by telephone and once at the marae, they could be easily catered for in Whare kai, could wash and shower and could be bedded down in new, larger Whare nui.

All of this leads us to the modern marae. By the early 1970s, when Anne Salmond completed her seminal work, *Hui*, the modern marae was fully in place and over some thirty-five years that has changed little. Modern marae are very different from their forebears but are still used mainly for Maori gatherings (hui), apply Maori rules and ritual (tikanga) to events and are constructed around a Maori building, the Whare nui, or Whare whakairo if that building is carved. Layered on these are other complexities and these are the concern of the next chapter, which details what a modern marae really is, and examines the differentiation that occurs between some forms of marae.

---

<sup>195</sup> Ibid. pg 337.

## Conclusions

Although there were two other particular forms of patronage in the nineteenth century, patronage by Maori religious leaders and patronage by Europeans, neither of these, although important to note, were to bring about specific changes to the form or essence of the regular marae. European patronage was rare and confined really to recapitulations and representations which were mainly for the re-display and repackaging of Maori-ness to a non-Maori audience. This is dealt with more fully in a later chapter. Deidre Brown comprehensively lists the large number of buildings completed by or on behalf of Maori religious leaders, most specifically: Ringatu Architecture of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki; Parihaka Architecture of Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi Ratana Architecture of Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana.<sup>196</sup> Between 1869 and 1908 for instance she counts 36 buildings completed by the Ringatu. However, while the proliferation (at least at that time) of these various building schemes is notable, the lasting effect is more difficult to determine. Both the Ringatu and Ratana churches in New Zealand continue to have many adherents but they have effected little change on the common vernacular of the Maori marae. The marae however has continued to change in form and articulation, its adaptations have continued and that is the root of the next chapter, which refines the place and the particulars of the modern marae.

While the marae of today may not have strictly existed when Cook first arrived in New Zealand, as we have seen, the seeds were there, elements that would become the marae of today existed, and were transformed by Maori, due in large part to the exigencies of dealing with Europeans.

It is clear that by a century or so after contact, the modern marae existed in roughly the form that it does today, a kainga, with a central large whare, in the front of which was a delineated sacral area, and where due ceremony was observed in transacting Maori life. This was not on a daily basis, but when it was required: to receive visitors, to farewell the departed, to observe celebrations. Change had been ineluctable and Maori craft had been augmented and modified by European technology, the manner in which buildings were made was altered, and the manner they were decorated was re-shaped.

The final form of what I refer to as traditional marae was completed in the 1930s, when modern European sensibilities and new Maori needs brought Maori building standards in line with those of a world which had gradually subsumed, or at least immersed, them. Te Ao Maori had been melded with pakeha, and Nga Marae had formed.

---

<sup>196</sup> Ibid. Appendices.



## **Chapter Four:**

# **NGA MARAE – Marae**

**Introduction; REFINING THE MODERN MARAE: Descriptions; The traditional marae; Whare nui; Whare kai; Whare paku; Kohanga reo; Paepae; Churches; Other subsidiary buildings; THE URBAN MARAE; Maori land and the Land Court; THE CONSERVED MARAE: Presentation of the Sleeping House (turangawaewae); How the display conveys messages; Does the house continue to have the same meanings?; Conclusions**





This chapter is a direct discussion of the contemporary components which make up the marae complex. It essentially details all the physical portions of which the modern marae may now consist, the buildings and their environs, and discusses their relationship in space. There are also non-physical elements such as ritual which are essential to the inception of the marae, and without which it would remain nothing more than a concatenation of buildings.

Various *types* of marae are discussed, particularly the basic template, or standard organisation of a modern marae in its current form. Aside from regular, orthodox, marae, there are two other forms of marae detailed, what I term the conserved marae and the urban marae, and it is a contention of this thesis that together, these three forms are the range of Maori marae *types* which currently exist. The conserved marae is a very small subset of marae, generally in a physical museum, and this chapter elaborates this. Urban marae are those which have been created in a metropolitan environment and which consequently have had modifications made in their matrix, while maintaining their clear basis in orthodox marae. Within this framework there are of course exceptions, but those are generally crossover forms, where the house sits on the boundary of two of the introduced categories.

While the orthodox marae and the urban marae are well known types, with a modest related literature, this chapter introduces the idea of the conserved marae and discusses the idea of collecting not merely artefacts but an entire cultural array in the form of entire Whare whakairo. The conserved marae, and the sleeping house as they are referred to here are conceptually important to this thesis as they represent isolated houses whose context has been modified entirely from their inception and which have been re-contextualised using non-Maori cultural values.

The focus of this chapter then is to set out the elements that now comprise the modern Maori marae. This is essential to contrast it from prior forms which accorded more closely with villages and defensive complexes. Thus, this chapter delineates what a modern marae really is, and assesses the place of the various portions that make up the whole. It is also the basis for understanding the remaining parts of this thesis which focus on specific elements of the current marae structure, isolating them and discussing them. It is important to note here that not all elements are physical in nature and that some revolve around the enactment of ritual or the participation of people.

It is one of the principal contentions of this thesis that it is the participation of people, living and dead, which transform the marae complex and make it not just specifically Maori, but a unique cultural matrix.

## **REFINING THE MODERN MARAE**

In New Zealand, the marae, never so much a centre for active religious worship as those of the other islands of the Pacific had become rather the centre of Maori cultural life in New Zealand, both in the traditional rural communities which until relatively recently were the heartland of Maori but

now also in the urban abodes of Maori as well. As Sir Apirana Ngata would describe the modern marae:

A reasonably equipped marae, must necessarily include the assembly place as the central feature, and also provide up-to-date amenities such as dining-place, sanitary conveniences and water supply. There must also be some beautification, as that is an important psychological factor. Sports grounds for the youth of the race must also be provided.<sup>197</sup>

## Descriptions

While the definition of a marae may be held to vary over time I would like to define three clear types of modern-day Maori marae in New Zealand (and elsewhere). Simply these are traditional marae, conserved marae and what may be loosely termed, urban marae. What follows is a broad definition of each of these three, and a discussion of their layouts.

### The traditional marae

The traditional marae is essentially the hybrid result of the pa and the kainga observed by Cook and others on first contact with New Zealand Maori. Gone is the need for protection from mortal foes and thus most marae are now situated not on craggy rocks and steep hillsides but rather take the form of buildings set on flat ground. The multiple palisades of older days have also been replaced, usually with a low wall acting as a defining boundary separating the precincts of the marae proper from the surrounding area.

A marae proper (described more fully below) is often surrounded or embedded within a larger area of land, often also confusingly termed a 'marae'. This area may consist of open space, related by ownership to the marae itself, or to houses and property belonging to local people, or a combination of both. While I am unable to provide a strict analogy to Western concepts one may be drawn with a parish church, round which is a domain and further round which has grown up a small village of individual houses populated by families more or less related, but most of who remain parishioners. In this case, the principle building of the marae, the Whare nui, might be the metaphorically, and sometimes literal, church.

The marae proper is essentially an agglomeration of buildings, each with a specialist function, with an open space laid out in front of the principal buildings and defined by a boundary around the whole. The buildings may consist of any combination of the following:

---

<sup>197</sup> "The Story of the Modern Marae," *Te Ao Hou=The New World* 1952. pg 23.



30 – Photograph by author – Kohupatiki Marae – Hawkes Bay. (2004).

The building on the left is the Whare nui (*Tane-nui-a-rangi*); that on the right is the Whare kai. Between the two and not visible is the Whare paku. The grassy area in front of the two buildings is the marae atea. Although this is quite a small marae, the buildings are larger than they seem in the photo, the Whare kai capable of seating over 100 for meals.

### Whare nui

A Whare tipuna (ancestral house, house of ancestors) may also be known as a Whare whakairo (carved house) if it is carved, Whare puni (sleeping house), Whare hui (meeting house) or Whare nui (great house). This is the most important building on the marae and is usually, although not always, the largest whare. (See figure 30). The house itself often represents an eponymous ancestor, although in some instances a more abstract definition may apply. Tama te Kapua for instance in Rotorua, an ancestor of the Te Arawa iwi is the central house on the marae known as Ohinemutu. Alternatively, at Waitangi, in the far north of New Zealand, the whare erected to celebrate the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi is known as Te Whare Runanga, or the House of Assembly. Principal houses such as these have garnered their various names simply as a result of either form or function. As the house is representative of ancestors or at the least may contain architectural references to such it may be generally referred to as a Whare tipuna or House of ancestors. As it is usually the largest whare on a marae site it may be referred to as a Whare nui, a large or great house. As the house will often be used for hosting visitors (manuhiri), usually accompanied by at least some local people (tangata whenua) overnight it is a Meeting House, a Whare puni, Whare runanga or Whare hui. Lastly, many such whare, both now and traditionally as we have seen, were and are elaborately carved. This carving, whakairo, thus lends the term carved house or Whare whakairo. Although the smallest whare

are only the size of a large garage, the largest are great halls, dozens of metres on a side and capable of holding hundreds of people. On larger marae there may be more than one Whare tipuna.

Architecturally, the design of a Whare nui is very straightforward, consisting of a singular large hall, rectangular in shape, without a lowered ceiling and thus having an internal ceiling that matches the pitched roof of the exterior. The roof may be supported by (sometimes non-structural) poles along its central length.

There may be store rooms appended as part of this structure. Often, there are only windows at either end of the structure and so whare may seem dimly lit. There is a door at the front of the building, although other doors may occasionally be found on the sides and often at the rear as well. These additional doors are entirely subsidiary and have no function in the ritual which is often related to the use of whare. At the front of the whare is an overhanging porch, which has various functions, some ritual and others simply providing shelter. Some, although not all whare, have carvings; there may also be patterned painting (kowhaiwhai), and tukutuku (woven flax patterns) on the walls or interior roof.

Whare nui are tapu and one of the prohibitions on their use is against eating, thus the introduction of the building below (the whare kai, or food house) into the scheme of the modern marae.

### Whare kai

Nearby the Whare nui is usually a Whare kai (Food house, Dining hall). The concept of utu (mutual reciprocity) still lives most explicitly in the requirements placed on both visitors and hosts



31 & 32 – Photographs by the author – Paepae (2006).

Paepae structures (seating for speakers) are not common in all regions, but can be clearly seen here in these images from the East Coast of the North Island, where the majority of houses have paepae. Note the Whare paku in the image below, tucked between the Whare nui and the large Whare kai.





(manuhiri and tangata whenua) in the modern marae setting. Hosts would normally provide comfort to visitors in the form of food and drink, as well as often offering accommodation. In response, the manuhiri provide a koha (reciprocal offering) which is designed to offset the efforts of the tangata whenua in making these provisions and in the economy of the modern world, the expense. In the present day this often takes the form of money. The Whare kai normally consists of both a kitchen area and a dining hall, the former where liberal quantities of food are prepared and the latter where this is served to guests. Some Whare kai are richly decorated, even with carvings, and one end is often provided with a stage so that guests and visitors can both perform after a meal. The largest Whare kai can comfortably seat hundreds at a time and have kitchens commensurate to providing for the same numbers. In general, these buildings are more like a European hall than a traditional meeting house, with trestle tables and

stackable/movable chairs that can be

cleared away when not in use. Whare kai are a fairly recent addition to marae buildings, dating in general to the 1930s, before which, feasts and meals may have been eaten outside or in tents.

In the past as cooking was noa, or non-tapu, food preparation took place in specific areas, sometimes under cover, in which case the building was referred to as a Whare umu (cook house). Whare umu are still found in many parts of the Pacific, based both on both personal experience – having travelled reasonably extensively amongst the Pacific Islands, but also on the comments of others made directly to me about other regions I have not personally visited. They are often used as



33 & 34 – Photographs by the author – Gateways (2005-6).

Although the boundaries may not always be obvious, in many instances simple fences separate the marae area from the surrounding environs and in fact delineate the ritual space. Some are then further elucidated by the use of gateways (kuwaha, waharoa), which may be plain or elaborate, usually really depending on the wherewithal of the local hapu.



an area to lay umu (earth ovens) to cook food. The equivalent to this in New Zealand is the hangi, also cooked in an earth oven, invariably in the open air.

### **Whare paku**

This is an attached or detached ablution block, providing toilets and wash-rooms and in many cases shower facilities. Usually plain but functional, these are facilities designed to cater for the numbers of visitors that a marae may reasonably expect and thus may be large or small, simple or relatively elaborate.

### **Kohanga reo**

A striking recent addition to the range of buildings on marae are Kohanga reo (language nests), these are pre-school Maori language learning centres where children are taught Maori immersively. Kohanga Reo is a government supported initiative but due to its basic nature, and to the inclination of both the Kohanga reo administration and leaders and also local people, marae are a very natural place to establish such centres. Thus, many marae now incorporate a small Kohanga reo building within or alongside their precincts.

### **Paepae**

Many marae have covered areas, small, roofed but open fronted which exist for the use of visitors and which are set to the side but facing towards the front of the principal whare. (See figures 31 and 32). These are paepae, or speaking places, which are designed to ensure that some of the manuhiri, usually the most important speakers, can stand or sit, while sheltered, after they have been welcomed onto marae, but before entering the Whare nui. They will be used during the often very long period during which speeches are exchanged between visitors and guests. Although sometimes brief, some orations may extend many hours and in the case of a tangi (or funeral period) very numerous visitors may make such speeches over the course of several days.

### **Churches**

Many marae have small chapels erected either on their precincts or very close by. Christianity and missionaries were a long-time feature of New Zealand's European settlement and Anglicanism has been the church for a large proportion of Maori for well over a hundred and fifty years. Over time, specifically Maori religious movements such as those of the Ringatu and Ratana churches have supplemented this pantheon, particularly in the far north of New Zealand.

### Other subsidiary buildings

As well, the marae proper may incorporate other buildings, storage sheds, separate kitchens, offices, training and educational facilities and so on.

Although not a building, there may be an urupa or burial ground situated nearby a marae, sometimes immediately alongside it. These are essentially Christian cemeteries and have been, since their likely inception, with the advent of missionary conversions in New Zealand. Traditional Maori burials involved the slow desiccation of bodies, followed a year or so later by the stripping of remaining flesh from bones, and then re-interment in often hidden places, such as caves.<sup>198</sup> Not in all cases, but this was one prominent and common form of 'burial', particularly within chieftainly families. Modern urupa differ in no general way from European cemeteries, consisting of graves, with headstones, usually surrounded by a low fence.

There is no particular template either for the laying out of the buildings discussed above, within any framework or with particular reference one to another. My experience in visiting over a hundred marae shows that the houses face in all directions, are placed in no particular order and have no fundamental relational plan. This might no doubt be contradicted on an individual basis, where tohunga, tipuna, builders or designers may have laid out houses in such ways as to face in a particular direction or be aligned with one another in specific manners or to be sympathetic with certain local features. However, when taken as a whole, there is no overall scheme.

Michael Austin however has other thoughts as to the positioning of the marae suggesting:

The marae is located in the natural landscape so that it faces outward to open elements (sea, plain) and is backed by closing elements (hills, mountains, bush) and seems to run parallel to rivers. These landscape features appear to always relate to the marae and they have legends and stories attached to them which are frequently referred to by orators.

The closure of the natural landscape is reinforced by a meeting house, the facade and porch of which are a restatement of the landscape relationship at building scale.<sup>199</sup>

It is an interesting stance, contradicted at times by the positioning of marae, supported in others, but regardless, the ideal of a spatial relationship may have been innate to the schema of some planners.<sup>200</sup>

While the directionality of these buildings is debatable, certain other features are, conversely, immutable. The area, usually grassed, occasionally concreted, in front of the main house is kept generally clear and is known as the marae atea, or more fully, Te Maraenui o Tu Ma Tauenga –

<sup>198</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 146-150.

<sup>199</sup> Michael Robert Austin, "A Description of the Maori Marae," (Auckland: University of Auckland, School of Architecture, 1980). pg 233.

<sup>200</sup> Also, refer to the earlier notes by Sutton about elite houses at Pouerua, where those whare are consistently oriented 27 degrees East of true North.

roughly: the great space that belongs to Tu Ma Tauenga. Tu Ma Tauenga is the Maori god of war, and the open space is traditionally reserved unto him and is the eponymous feature for the marae complex as we know it today. This area is tapu and the scene of the traditional welcoming onto marae – the powhiri.

As discussed, the precincts of the marae proper, consisting of the buildings above and the marae area, are delineated, usually although not always by a low fence with one or more gateways. The fence marks the boundary of the tapu that exists on a marae and care should be taken in crossing this threshold, at least in the domain of Maori cultural values. This boundary is not merely physical and temporal but has a spiritual nature bound into the tradition and beliefs of many Maori.

### THE URBAN MARAE

Simply, urban marae are marae that have been constituted fairly recently in urban areas. (See figures 35 and 36). Traditional marae were located not necessarily in rural areas, but as we have seen, in *any* populated region. Some of those areas were densely populated, so for instance the region around Lake Rotorua supported a number of marae/pa sites in close proximity – this situation remains today. Similarly, numerous pa sites are still clearly visible to this day around the isthmus between Waitemata Harbour and the Hauraki Gulf in Auckland, although these remain only as obvious terraces, and were long since abandoned as Maori settlements. This was partly due to depopulation, partly due to an increase in the number of European colonists living in the area and eventually owning the land there. Maori however, with populations based around horticulture, never developed urban centres as such and over time some marae have been subsumed into the European urban culture around them. These marae however have not been similarly subsumed into the *conceptual* urban marae which has clear and particular features; these subsumed compounds remain *traditional* marae, but in urban settings.

Urban marae, those that can be separated from the ideal of the traditional marae, are really a Maori response to growing numbers of urbanised Maori. The process was straightforward. For economic and social reasons, during the early part of the twentieth century, large numbers of Maori migrated from traditional Maori population centres into European population centres.<sup>201</sup> This is usually described as a move from rural to urban, but can in fact be described in significant other modes. It is for instance a clear acceptance of European economic values: paid work; (predominantly rental) housing in cities; labouring in urban centres, over traditional Maori economic values: working in food production; shared trans-generational owned housing; living in non-urban communities.

---

<sup>201</sup> Evidence for this is not included in this thesis but can be easily seen in statistics provided both by censuses and the New Zealand yearbook.



Some might regard this as an acceptance of European economic hegemony, but this acceptance was then tempered by Maori reactions, one of which was the creation of Maori spaces (urban marae), literally embedded within the vastier frame of the European urban agglomeration, the city. It may be regarded as an acknowledgement that Maori may react in ultimately different cultural ways and that acceptance of one form of hegemony does not mean that other forms of Maori life are left behind. It is generally recognised amongst New Zealanders and certainly allowed by most Maori that with the move to urban areas, many Maori, or more particularly their newly urban progeny lost the roots of their Maori culture: tikanga, te reo &c. (tikanga – a traditional way of doing things, te reo – language, the Maori language), in general their ability to transact effectively within *traditional* Maori society. As this cultural disenfranchisement continued or occurred the creation of urban marae was both a reaction to this and a return to, or the provision of, a base for another set of cultural values that many had lost and that some few were providing.

Thus the urban marae has its own salient features:

1. They are usually (very) recent in provenance.
2. Much as urban centres have become the home for a variety of tribes, urban marae cater for a variety of tribes, they are not the product of singular hapu or iwi (The move from rural to urban areas was pan-tribal, resulting in a mélange of Maori in suburbs, rather than the original concatenation of singular iwi in traditional areas.)<sup>202</sup>



35 & 36 – Photographs by the author – Urban marae (2006-7).

Waipapa (above), the University of Auckland marae, is an urban marae, not simply for its obviously urban surroundings, but as a result of the way and manner in which it is used and also for the other reasons discussed more fully in the text.

Ohinemutu, the marae shown below, would be considered by many an urban marae, based as the image clearly shows, on its obviously urban surroundings. I however use the term urbane, to describe marae which retain traditional sensibilities but which have over time become subsumed by urban agglomeration.



<sup>202</sup> Thus for instance the Whare whakairo Tane-nui-a-rangi, at Waipapa (the University of Auckland marae) was given his name in order to ensure that any descendant of any tribe could claim affiliation to the whare. Tane, son of Rangi, was an obvious point of commencement for the whakapapa of any (Maori) visitor.

3. They are unlikely to remain or become trans-generational<sup>203</sup>
4. They are generally assembled in compact spaces and may have no attached living areas (whare: houses) or areas for the dead (urupa: cemeteries)
5. They may be affiliated to another organisation (often schools or universities)

So marae which are simply *urbane* – having had cities grow up around them, or having been constituted by individual hapu within the boundaries of a city – are nevertheless traditional marae, and differ in their attributes from actual urban marae. Urban marae, have specific features and can be delineated by those features, the core of which have been listed above, they are very distinct from traditional marae which have become over time surrounded by modern dwellings.

Of course the term cultural disenfranchisement is strong, but it makes little difference that Maori came to accept new economic values voluntarily. This is entirely obviated by the necessity for such a response actually stemming from the ultimate loss of land by large sections of the Maori population in the preceding 100 years of colonisation, from 1840 onwards.

The variety and form of hui (organised gatherings) do not generally vary within urban marae, and indeed the full range of such ritual as it is described in the following chapter, may be found at urban marae; it is for such reasons that they were created in the first instance. What differs is that the sense of community, the tikanga and the essence of the marae must all be centred in different ways and forms. A consensus must be found as to what tikanga is used, often favouring the tikanga of the local iwi, within which a city's boundaries might lie. The sense of community, rather than hapu based and linked through whakapapa (genealogy, but familial ties and links as well) relates to a more collegial form of community esprit, by coming from the local area for instance, by belonging to a university or simply by being accepted into the marae and claiming it as a personal turangawaewae. This is a word –turangawaewae – with several, quite specific meanings, but here used in the sense of one of its more literal meanings – a place to stand – somewhere for someone to place personal roots. Lastly, the essence of the marae is clearly modified if there is no urupa and the ancestors take some semblance of genericalness. A Whare whakairo, linked tightly to a bonded inter-familial group has a clearly different notion to one that has been formed with a fairly transient tangata whenua as its basis.

It is easy to further subdivide urban marae into smaller groups inside the greater whole. So for instance, Paul Tapsell suggests that there are three kinds of marae in metropolitan areas: what I would refer to as traditional but two other forms: urban marae created non-tribally and urban marae created

---

<sup>203</sup> This could be argued, but urban settings encourage mobility (at least from suburb to suburb) as does the possible economic disadvantage of renting, in which statistic Maori are proportionally over-represented. For the majority of families, they will not have representatives spanning several generations who live in close proximity to those urban marae that are specifically suburban. Other urban marae, such as those in educational facilities, will clearly have transient populations.

for tribes from outside of the region of the tangata whenua.<sup>204</sup> He uses the specific example of the marae Maatatua – not to be confused with the Whare whakairo of the same name – which is a Ngai Tuhoe marae found in Rotorua. Tuhoe, are an iwi from the Urewera region, to the East of Rotorua, but the marae was created after a gift of land from Te Arawa in the 1920s. I would however maintain my argument that the latter is clearly another urbane marae; a traditional marae which is surrounded by urbanity, in this case Rotorua.

### **Maori land and the Land Court**

While originally all the land of New Zealand can be clearly defined as having belonged to the Maori people, over time this situation has greatly changed. At the point of the first European visits, the only people were the Maori, Tangata Whenua – the People of the Land. The concept of individual ownership, so necessary for the workings of colonisation however were entirely absent from the parlance of Maori; land, where it was conceptually held, was part of the people and they with it. Local land was irrevocably linked to tangata whenua by a chain of shared history, memory and occupation, not by legal imperative. Even the word Maori is a constructed name created by Europeans to represent the entire moiety of iwi (tribes), hapu (sub-tribes) and whanau (family groups) at a time when these were the first affiliation of Maori and where the concept of representation as a single nation was as alien as the pakeha (Europeans) themselves were. Maori had referred to themselves by iwi, hapu, waka etc. Cook had used the generic phrase Indians to describe the inhabitants of New Zealand, and of course elsewhere.

By tradition Maori land was held by right of occupation, conquest or ancestry – there was no recourse to the niceties and legalities of European courts.<sup>205</sup> Such courts had evolved laws governing the use and ownership of land over literally hundreds of years and where the conceptual foundations for contracts had been laid down in the classical foundations of Greece and Rome some two thousand years and more before. Where there was a clear technological gap between the muskets and iron tools of European visitors over the Neolithic technology of Maori, there was a similar gap between the levels of jurisprudence exercised by the two cultures. Sanctions within the Maori world more likely resided in the use of tapu with sickness or other ill effects visiting the families and person of transgressors. In other instances profound physical violence or exile might result. Both of which were obvious options under the often draconian exercise of the law in eighteenth century Europe, but usually after the recourse to courts of law and trials.

As settlement however became one of the objectives of the colonising agents of Great Britain the craft of laws, deeds, ownership and the other legalities which help define the European purview of land-title were introduced to New Zealand. Immediate difficulties, which have ramifications to the

<sup>204</sup> Tapsell, "Taonga : A Tribal Response to Museums". pp 89-95.

<sup>205</sup> According to the Maori Land Court: <http://www.justice.govt.nz/maorilandcourt/pastpresent.htm>.

present, were inherent in the opposed views of individual ownership utilised by Europeans and the more abstract, communal ownership of Maori. Land was not even necessarily *owned*, it adhered to iwi, hapu and whanau through the broad concept of *ahi ka* – translated perhaps as ‘maintaining occupation of the land’. The right to unconquered land came not simply from occupation but from ancestry – *whakapapa* – the detailed genealogy of the people and their relationship to a region, which was kept and maintained in extreme detail by specialist experts – *tohunga*.

The very symbol of the new contractual relationship between the original settlers of New Zealand, the Maori, and the new settlers (mainly from Great Britain), was and remains the Treaty of Waitangi, a document which attempts in part to broker an agreement regarding the ultimate sovereignty of New Zealand. Signed in 1840, the Treaty is the founding document of New Zealand and is the basis for the liaison between the Crown (her majesty Queen Victoria and her descendants), now nominally the government of New Zealand, and the *Tangata Whenua*, the Maori people.

Pre-dating even the treaty, contracts or arrangements for the sale of land had been organised between Maori people and settlers or their agents and control or ownership of land was already passing out of the hands of Maori. This process would continue to accelerate in the following century, hastened by the massed effects of ever increasing settler numbers, the decline in Maori population (dealt with above), land confiscations (still a matter of legal process and redress) and of course the complicit sale and gifting of land by Maori. The current situation is one where only some land remains in Maori ownership and the majority of New Zealand’s land has continued to be subdivided amongst the descendants of settlers, corporations and the Crown itself, now the greatest of this country’s landowners, ostensibly as a representative of the New Zealand people.

While clearly, some proportion of Maori are homeowners in the common sense of the word, there remains another proportion of land in New Zealand, designated specifically as Maori land, which is held in a variety of manners tied more traditionally to whanau, hapu and iwi and defined by law. This Maori land currently amounts to about five percent of all of New Zealand’s land, 1.3 million of the 26.4 million hectares which comprise this country.<sup>206</sup> The legal status of these land holdings is defined not only by law but by the Maori Land Court, New Zealand’s only specifically Maori Court and an edifice instituted as the Native Land Court in 1865, and retitled in 1954. This bears specifically on marae as the modern marae rarely lies on private freehold land but is usually situated in what is designated as Maori land, often held in trust by the marae itself and not belonging to individuals who live within the marae precincts. This has ramifications both for the long-term future of these marae and also as to their legal relationship with the inhabitants.

There are two fairly typical marae types in New Zealand. First, the communal marae, where an area of land surrounding the marae proper is often occupied by families who have close links to the marae itself; indeed the whole area of habitation may be familiarly termed a marae, although properly

<sup>206</sup> As calculated by the Maori Land Court: <http://www.justice.govt.nz/maorilandcourt/pastpresent.htm>





37 – Photograph by the author – *Hotunui*, at Auckland War Memorial Museum (2004).

Although *Hotunui* is a conserved house, it remains in constant use and is of course on display most of the time. The large cleared space in front is the nominal marae area. Note the wood of the carvings has had any paint removed; at the time of this photograph a restoration project was taking place on the carvings in the interior, many of which had been painted polychromatically, these are shown in another image below. Also note that the Whare nui is built right into a wall of the main museum building.

that term both in a legal sense and in the more meta-physical or actual ‘Maori’ sense of the word.

Second, the singular marae, which in many instances, due to population encroachment, land sale or establishment in a confined space may consist of the marae proper alone and may not be located within an area of familial and related habitation.

### THE CONSERVED MARAE

In contrast to the thousand or so marae that may be found around New Zealand, there is a mere handful of what I refer to as conserved marae, spread distantly around the world. Although the number displayed has varied and continues to do so over time, the small number means that all can conceivably be visited. The variance regarding the display of these collected whare is the result generally of museum policies which dictate whether a house (which takes a lot of space) can be

displayed or must largely remain in storage.<sup>207</sup> Whare have been displayed, then stored and may be displayed again. For instance, *Hau te Ananui o Tangaroa* was an erected house, which was then sold, was displayed at the Museum of Canterbury, has now been in storage for a number of years and may be erected again in the future. Likewise, *Te Wharepuni a Maui*, in Stuttgart. Recently, the question of repatriation, or the return of houses to their originating tribes has also come into play. The house *Maatatua* for instance, which had been on display at Otago Museum has now been returned to the Te Ati Awa iwi.<sup>208</sup> Or also the house *Hotunui* at the Auckland War memorial museum which, I was personally informed by curators, was also under discussion for possible repatriation.

The marae and more specifically the Whare nui are as follow:

*Ruatepupuke II*, housed in the Field Museum, in Chicago. (See figure 38). This beautiful whare completed in 1881 has spent nearly its entire life outside of New Zealand, having been in Chicago since 1905. It was purchased in the 1890s by a Mr Hindmarsh, before finding its way to Hamburg by the turn of the century.<sup>209</sup> *Ruatepupuke* was the focus of the Chicago section of the Te Maori exhibition, as it travelled the United States from 1984-6.

*Rauru* – found at the Museum of Ethology in Hamburg, (Hamburgisches Museum für Volkerkunde). (See figure 39). The carving for *Rauru* was originally commenced by the whakairo expert Te Waru in the 1850s/60s but this work was never completed. The carvings were bought much later by the European Charles Nelson who also commissioned other carvings in order to create an entire whare. *Rauru* was erected in March 1900, at Whakarewarewa village in Rotorua, but had been sold by 1904 and then relocated to Hamburg by 1905.<sup>210</sup> In some ways built as a display whare, its carvings are illustrative of numerous Te Arawa ancestors and famous Maori legends but some are nevertheless relatively experimental and expressive of a fluid carving idiom.<sup>211</sup>

*Te Hau ki Turanga* and *Rongomaraeroa*, both housed in Te Papa. (See figures 41 and 42). *Te Hau ki Turanga*, completed in 1843 is the oldest surviving example of a complete Maori Whare nui and was described by Sir Apirana Ngata as our finest carved whare. To be exact there are actually some parts which have been replaced by more recent carving, but generally it approaches originality in its entirety. Te Marae's house *Rongomaraeroa* is the work of modern Maori artist Cliff Whiting and is an ornate confection of traditional idiom created using modern techniques, materials and colours.

*Hotunui*, now on display at the Auckland War Memorial Museum. (See figure 37). This whare, along with *Maatatua* was the work of a team of carvers led by Wepiha Apanui of Ngati Awa. It was

<sup>207</sup> I have personally discussed the question of a preference to display (over merely storing houses) versus the allocation of space with the curators at each of The Field Museum, Chicago, The Linden Museum, Stuttgart, The Museum of Canterbury, Christchurch and the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland.

<sup>208</sup> Sidney M. Mead, Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa., and Ngati Awa. Te Runanga., *Nga Karoretanga O Mataatua Whare = the Wanderings of the Carved House, Mataatua* (Whakatane [N.Z.]: Te Runanga o Ngati Awa, 1990).

<sup>209</sup> Hakiwai et al., *Ruatepupuke : A Maori Meeting House*.

<sup>210</sup> Garbutt, "Conserving the Living Object - the Conservation of Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand".

<sup>211</sup> This is evident in some of the perspectival carvings used for instance.

built as a wedding gift for the marriage of his sister Mereana and was largely carved in Whakatane, before the pieces were transported then erected in the Hauraki-Thames area.<sup>212</sup> Mereana Mokomoko (the bride in this story) asserts that the house was actually built by her father Te Hamaiwaho (not her brother) although the carvings were her brother's work. This is unsurprising really and is just an example of the attribution of whare to the patron and not the artist.

Subtending this list is the house *Hinemibi*, which, while not strictly maintained in a museum is clearly conserved and not utilised in the regular fashion of a Whare nui on a marae. (See figure 40). This famous meeting house, was completed in 1878 and originally located at Te Wairo village, near Rotorua, it was in this whare that many people took shelter during the eruption of Mt. Tarawera in 1886. Later, it was purchased by Lord Onslow, then Governor of New Zealand, and relocated to its present position in the grounds of Clandon House, Surrey, in 1892. It is currently administered by the National Trust (UK).<sup>213</sup>

There are several houses which are not currently on display in museums but that have been or may be in some future context. They are Auckland War Memorial Museum's *Rangitibi*, currently retained mostly in storage, although some of its carvings are displayed in the same area as the house *Hotunui*. (For *Rangitibi*, see figure 43).

*Te Wharepuni a Mani* (also known as TE Donne's house). (See figure 44). Built for TE Donne in Rotorua, in 1905, as a model house for the village at Whakarewarewa this house was displayed at the Christchurch International Exhibition in 1906, before returning to Rotorua and then being sold and re-erected in 1911 at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart.<sup>214</sup> It is currently retained in storage in the Museum's storage centre having been removed from display in recent years due to space and funding constraints.<sup>215</sup>

*Maatatua*, built by the Ngati Awa people (and carved as was *Hotunui* by Wepiha Apanui), housed and displayed for many years in the Otago Public Museum and recently returned to the Ngati Awa people as part of a Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Claim. This is in fact a sister house to *Hotunui* and is similar in style, form and history.<sup>216</sup>

*Hau Te Ananui o Tangaroa* – Currently in storage at the Canterbury Museum but due possibly to be displayed again after the completion of a new revitalisation project which is ongoing at the museum. This whare was displayed between 1875 and 1956, having been carved completed in the

<sup>212</sup> There is a complete excerpt of her account of the building of the whare in the appendices of this thesis. Royal Society of New Zealand., *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*. Volume 30, pg 41.

<sup>213</sup> Alan Gallop, *The House with the Golden Eyes : Unlocking the Secret History Of "Hinemibi" - the Maori Meeting House from Te Wairoa (New Zealand) and Clandon Park (Surrey, England)* (Middlesex, England: Running Horse Books, 1998).

<sup>214</sup> Garbutt, "Conserving the Living Object - the Conservation of Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand".

<sup>215</sup> Noted from personal discussions with the principal curator, Linden Museum, Ingrid Heermann.

<sup>216</sup> Mead, Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa., and Ngati Awa. Te Runanga., *Nga Karoretanga O Mataatua Whare = the Wanderings of the Carved House, Mataatua*.

early 1870s and then sold in 1873. The house, carved by Ngati Porou was acquired by the museum's founder Julius Von Haast.<sup>217</sup>

Each of these whare has strong commonality insofar as they were all purchased (or otherwise collected) in order to act as models of Maori art, culture, design &c. There has been and continues to be debate over the ownership of some of these houses. Not all of them were necessarily purchased 'willingly'. While few domestic whare were elaborately decorated and not all Whare nui were, each of the museum whare are ornate, and demonstrative usually of the highest skills of Maori artists. In the case of *Te Wharepuni a Mani*, the whare was specifically built in order to act as an illustrated tourist guide.<sup>218</sup> Other links pervade the relationship of most of these whare.

Both *Hotunui* (Auckland Museum) and *Maatatua* (formerly Otago Museum, yet

to be re-erected) were built and carved in the same region by the same master-carvers. *Te Wharepuni a Mani* and *Rauru* (both in Germany) were carved largely by Tene Waitere, a master-carver from Rotorua whose carvings also supplement the originals from *Rangitibi*, the house held in storage at Auckland Museum. Waitere's hand may also be found on the carvings of the older house *Hinemibi*, completed by his trainer and master Te Wero, aided by Waitere. Such consanguinities are striking when so few houses are involved; they imply a sort of metaphysical relationship that accords neatly with the purview of Maori spiritual thought.

A final whare I must mention is *Te Aroha o Rongoheikume*, on display at the Lake Taupo Museum. This is also the work of Tene Waitere, and although the carvings may have been intended to form a



38 – Photograph by the author – *Ruatēpupuke II* at the Field Museum, Chicago (2004).

As the Field Museum is very large, space for the house *Ruatēpupuke* is less of an issue than at other smaller museums. In fact there is a large open area directly in front of the whare (its nominal marae atea) and although a roof may be seen above, this is not at all obvious when visiting the house.

<sup>217</sup> Personal discussions with the chief curator, Canterbury Museum, Roger Fyfe. See also: Paul Walker, "The 'Maori House' at the Canterbury Museum," in *ACCESSORY/Architecture* (Auckland University: 1995).

<sup>218</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*.



complete Whare whakairo, this house was never erected, at least until 2002, and then in the museum itself. Thus, its life has never followed the normal path of a living house, on a marae, as have all the other now conserved houses.

It is also important to recognise, that these truncated histories are really histories that accord to European precepts. The actual narrative of these whare should rather be the place where they stand and the story of the individual ancestors that are represented within their wooden bounds – and that co-mingled with the mana of their carvers.

The process of dismantling then storage and of course transport in the case of these whare is simplified by the construction method utilised in their original production. Essentially a whare consists of a frame, over which are manifested the carvings, tukutuku panels, kowhaiwhai (painted patterns) strips and other decorative elements that are the essence of the completed whare. Where the original frames have long since disappeared, what remains are the ancestors themselves and their manifest representations – most carvings are in fact ancestral figures. Thus, as each of the elements are usually compartmental – rafters, posts, panels – and few are of large scale, they can be easily dismantled, stored and moved.

This literal disembodiment raises other points of a metaphysical nature. Is the original mana of a whare re-incorporated when all the disparate elements are re-established? Is there a literal bond between the pieces while they are separated? While difficult to answer, the history of *Ruatepupuke I*, offers some responses because this is a well documented example of a whare which had been deconstructed under the aegis of traditional thought and traditional tohunga. The house *Ruatepupuke II*, currently in the Field Museum, in fact resulted because of the loss of the original *Ruatepupuke*, which had been stripped of its carvings by Ngati Porou tribes-people in order to hide them from raiders.

These carvings had been carefully wrapped, then submerged in water from which they were never recovered. At some point that original whare was replaced by *Ruatepupuke II*.<sup>219</sup> There must then have been, if not precedent for such procedures, the expectation by local tohunga that such disestablishment then reestablishment would conclude positively. Otherwise, what was the point in hiding the carvings?

Mana can thus be perceived as residing within the individual whakairo. The mana of the whare as a whole is the collective result of this contingent mana. There is a continued belief in the tapu 'nature' at least of whakairo – the result of their inherited mana, the mana of the carver and the mana of their eponym – both within Maori communities and within culturally aware non-Maori as well. Modern cultural sensitivities have thus led to the active involvement of Maori in the re-establishment of

---

<sup>219</sup> Hakiwai et al., *Ruatepupuke : A Maori Meeting House*.



39 – Photograph by the author – *Rauru*, at the Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg (2006).

At the time of my first visit to this museum, in 2004, one quarter of the museum (including the section that contains *Rauru*) was undergoing restoration and refurbishment and was not open to the public. *Rauru*, while not repositioned, is thus contained in a newly reorganised space. The whare is consigned deep within the museum and is reached through numerous museum halls before finally arriving at a balcony which looks down towards the house. A short flight of steps at right angles to the house leads to its nominal marae area, a severely truncated space of only a few metres depth.

While not the most ideal circumstances for encountering the whare, nevertheless its seclusion in the museum lends to its aura and atmosphere and despite its history, I consider this the most beautiful whare I have ever seen.

several houses, most recently the moving of *Te Hau ki Turanga* from its old site in Wellington to Te Papa in 1997-1998 and *Ruategupuke's* refurbishment then re-erection in 1993 in Chicago. Previously, such involvement may rather have been in the order of either lip-service, or as a sort of cultural show, an adjunct to the display-piece of the whare.<sup>220</sup>

The layouts of these meeting houses, within museum complexes, attempt in every case to both preserve and reproduce a marae complex, be they ever so removed from the natural situation of whare in marae compounds. Where they are constrained is by the complicated nesting of these large whare, in even greater edifices, sequestering them deep inside, and raising them out of the earth where they might otherwise or once have been rooted. So, for the visitor, a complicated negotiation through various portals in each museum must first be observed before approaching the individual

<sup>220</sup> <http://noellius.blogspot.com/2005/06/ruategupuke-ii-and-interpretation-of.html>

whare. Insofar as ritual is observed in the museum situation, this is contextually the same as the approach of visitors to standard marae, lacking only in the sophisticated greeting ceremonies observed in those settings, and the equally complex negotiation through tapu that would normally occur.

All of the houses are now (architecturally at least) free-standing, with the exception of *Hotunui*, which has been built with a structural wall of the museum subtending its roofline and walls, partway along its length. Each house has an open area directly in front, which replicates the marae area of a regular marae, although the negotiations to move across this space that are implicit in its tapu nature on a regular marae are here subjugated to the operations of a museum. The space then, although replicated in *semblance* has had its tapu nature obviated, its essence has thus been removed. The whare themselves however maintain the values of tradition, with prohibitions on footwear, eating, drinking and smoking, in theory at least required by tapu. Smoking, as smoke occupies the mouth, is actually regarded as an extension of or a kind of eating, thus the ban on this activity. Smoking was not practiced within Maori communities until the arrival of Europeans, as they presumably had no stimulatory substances which could be smoked. The tapu on food is deeply rooted and is possibly a reference to the importance of food within the community – perhaps its origins were directly related to the difficulty of early life as Maori settlers spread through New Zealand – but food is tapu in many other Polynesian cultures. In reality, the ban on footwear was not fundamental within a shoe-less culture, but was originally of a practical nature, as European shoes were wont to damage the mats used by earlier Maori to cover their (earth) floors.<sup>221</sup> Over time this has ossified into a tradition which now implies tapu to virtually all observers.

The *sense* of the meeting house, in each case is best maintained within their internal confines, but that feeling is apparent however, even with the various ceilings found in these museums hanging above. These ulterior rooves are as invisible suspended above each roof below as they are beyond notice when observing any other exhibit and their existence is entirely obnubilated on entering the physical houses. Once within, the illusion as such approaches completeness and the atmosphere of a regular house is much the same here as elsewhere.

Whether it is simply the ill-lit nature of museums in general, these whare, at least in my subjective experience, seem more brooding than most found on regular marae. There is a sense even of the separation from a more living form of Maori culture. The ancestors, long separated from their brethren rooted in the earth emanate a sensation of loneliness which is palpable. There is an obvious sense of the dislocation involved in relocating an entire house that greatly exceeds the removal of singular artefacts.

It is certain however, that in each case, these are marae entire, not simply re-erected houses. Although not all the niceties of marae behaviour, nor the formal layouts and settings are fully

---

<sup>221</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 46.

observed, the general sense of *marae-ness* is replicated. The whare are retained within a hallowed and delineated precinct, they have a clear space in front of them and they are in some instances surrounded by subsidiary buildings and in *all* cases by the artefactual accoutrement of Maori culture. Where once the precious objects or taonga were stored in treasure boxes (*waka huia*), they are now however on display, but nevertheless treated equally reverentially, guarded and stored. *Waka huia* were so named because they were used to store valuable feathers from the *huia*, a native New Zealand bird. Museum technology in the form of wall displays, posters and explanatory information-sheets now articulate the story of the houses and thus abet the more casual, less knowledgeable reader, unable to interpret the houses themselves, or the histories exuded by their carvings.

Our discussion however does not end here, but is continued below, where more details are considered, regarding the continued life of these houses in their new states.

### **Presentation of the Sleeping House (*turangawaewae*)**

Curators, ever faced with the difficulty of providing space to exhibit their collections, must make decisions based on such questions as the importance of the individual items, public and curatorial interest and even sheer size. In some extreme cases, the collections of the museums are so vast that only a small percentage may ever be on public display.<sup>222</sup> Thus, *Whare whakairo* while rare and important *objects* are challenging to any curator as when fully and correctly erected and exhibited they are of the largest scale. With few variations, their uniqueness and the challenge they denote to conventional western artistic and architectural representation however outweigh these difficulties and where a museum has a house to display it does so.

There are exceptions. *Hau Te Ananui o Tangaroa* at the Museum of Canterbury has not been on display since 1956, perhaps due to a lack of genuine vision rather than for ostensible reasons of space, or because of arguments regarding the relative commonality of carved whare within New Zealand. At the Auckland War Memorial Museum, the house *Rangitibi*, is entirely dismantled, most of the pieces in storage, but with a selection of its carvings on display. In this case due to an embarrassment of riches really; the Museum currently displays the complete house *Hotunui* and also the large and famous pataka, *Te Pūnawai o Te Arawa*. At the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Germany, the house known as *Te Wharepuni a Maui* is currently in storage and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Although the curators would prefer to display such a treasure they are unable to do so both for reasons of space (the museum is relatively small) and lack of funding.<sup>223</sup>

All the remaining whare in museum collections are on display and open to the public.

<sup>222</sup> The extreme example of this is probably the Smithsonian Institute. With a collection of over 136 million items, even though it consists of 17 separate museums, no more than one percent of the collection is ever on public display.

<sup>223</sup> This is based on personal discussion with the principal curator.

How the presentation of these houses is made varies to some small extent, really only constrained by the physical space in which the houses original situation is recapitulated. In every case the solution is essentially similar. The house is made as free standing as possible and the manner in which it is displayed replicates to some close extent the environment of a modern marae. Each house has been erected in its entirety and an open space has been left in front of the house, more or less like the marae atea. However, whereas tikanga would suggest that the marae atea was tapu, in each case, this is one of the laminates of Maori culture that has been subsumed to the museum culture, one in which it is the *object* and not necessarily the *space* which might be deemed to be sacred. The open areas in front of each house clearly have no sacred function, nor are their proper functions detailed in any way. The space dedicated as a technical marae atea in each instance varies, with the largest being the genuine grassy area to be found in front of the small house *Hinemibi* at Clandon Park in Surrey and the smallest being a truncated area only a few metres deep, in front of *Rauru*, the house found at the Museum of Ethology in Hamburg. Although technically part of a museum now, *Hinemibi* was re-erected in a garden setting and so more closely resembles a house in the original context of a marae.

In every instant save that of *Hinemibi*, the houses are surrounded or at least accompanied nearby by a collection of Maori taonga and in some instances by the taonga of other Pacific peoples. Labelling or signage explains variously the context of the house in its original situation, and the relationship of the house in Maori culture. Lastly, every house save *Hinemibi* has signage with injunctions relating specifically to the removal of footwear. Other prohibitions are also treated, but by the context of being in a museum already – no smoking, no food, no drink – all of which are violations of tapu, but also already a violation of museum codes.

Nor does *Hinemibi*, with a dirt floor and set as it is in a garden, have the signage accorded the other houses, in part really because it is an accoutrement to the main exhibition of Clandon House, a small fish at the edge of a larger pond, rather than the museums' iconic representation of Maori culture encapsulated in singular sleeping houses, at least to the most likely visitor, one viewing via the Western gaze. Almost strangely reversed in my own visit to Clandon Park, where in preference to visiting the stately home (one amongst many such) I was drawn specifically to visit *Hinemibi* – a unique taonga with a special and fascinating history.

The form of presentation chosen for the houses then is their reconstruction along the lines of their original intent, as complete houses, all of their integuments gathered into a single body. The alternative, demonstrated at Auckland Museum by the house *Rangitibi* is the display of portions of the house and actually at the Canterbury Museum as well, where some portions of *Hau Te Ananui o Tangaroa* are on lonely display. The story of a house however is told by all of its body together; in isolation it is virtually impossible to reconstruct the total meaning of a house, much like attempting to impute an entire body from a hand or a rib. The full re-enactment is the best alternative available within the space of a museum. Thus, even if the story is truncated by spatial considerations or





40 – Photograph by the author – *Hinemihi*, at Clandon Park, Surrey, UK (2006).

Literally tucked in behind Clandon House, *Hinemihi*, of all the conserved whare, is in its most natural state (exposed to the elements) and must for its curators present the most difficult problems of preservation. Although small, and clearly overshadowed by the stone mass of Clandon House (in some sort of ironic reprisal of the entire concept of British Imperialism and the place of Maori in the Empire), its separation and placement allow it the most freedom of any of the conserved houses, with its nominal marae atea being a proper lawn and without the confinement of a building around and above it.

occluded in the minds of visitors by a lack of understanding, they are nevertheless being presented an experience that is similar to having arrived unannounced at an empty marae and walked into the open Whare nui. What is fortunately missing is the more tapu nature of a marae, which in these cases resides fully and only in the taonga, the *place* having largely lost its meaning. To some Maori sensibilities at least. The violation of tapu implied by the scenario of arriving unannounced and simply entering a whare is a little discomfiting. In Te Ao Maori, without the protection of strong mana, or having asked for the concurrence of the spirits, or without having previously visited the marae such a visitor is simply asking for trouble. Perhaps the experience of approaching each whare could be vivified more exactly with a simulacrum of the powhiri and a required processional approach to the house.

### How the display conveys messages

The museum display versus the livingness of visiting a house on an actual marae really is one of the first things that differentiates what I call living houses (active houses on marae) from sleeping houses (houses in a conserved situation). The house in a museum is in quiet repose, not called upon in the same ways as it would be on a marae and not being actively engaged in the same ways either. The display of the house now is partly the result of curatorial needs and the fairly recent desire to combine authenticity with the cultural values of the originating people. A lack of cultural understanding in the past has indeed led to such horrors as the removal of wood at the bottom of poupou on the house *Te Hau ki Turanga* in order to make it fit its designated museum-space, and less radically, the use of heavy red paint in many museums to ‘replicate’ the original russet tones of wooden pieces stained with ochre. Ironically, this same red paint has for some time become the standard colour for carvings on marae throughout the country.

On the most basic level, the display of the whole house should convey its importance to the visitor. Such a large-scale display clearly implies a large-scale commitment of resources by the museum itself. These considerations may not enter into the visitors mind however, little concerned as they likely are with the exigencies of curatorship.

Labelling and signage approaching the house act as guides to the visitor, a sort of inanimate kai karanga, but with none of the cultural tones of being welcomed onto a marae. Such signage while informational carries no mauri with it and does not introduce the visitor to the more esoteric world of the mana, tapu and tikanga that is imbued in the living entity of the house.

It is the context of the museum that differentiates the sleeping house from the living house. Given the opportunity to remove and then re-erect such a house into a living marae with all of its panoply, ritual and inherent tapu there can be little doubt that the slumbering house would waken from its long sleep. This has yet to occur. The house *Maatatua*, formerly in Dunedin at the Otago Museum has been slated for re-erection, but this has not taken place. The movement of whare from one space to another within a museum (*Ruapehupuke, Rauru*) or from one place to another (*Te Hau ki Turanga*, to Buckle Street and more recently to the waterfront site of Te Papa) certainly does not modify the principle that these whare are contained within a museum environment, subsumed both within another building and a wholly different cultural milieu and context(s).

The museum space differs in many ways from regular marae, in part because as an architectural setting of its own, it recapitulates in a physical way the metaphorical subsumation of the Maori house within the collections of Western museum, not inherently a *greater* but certainly a *larger* house. As well however both in actuality and by purpose it is a staging post for the Western gaze, the dismemberment and interment of cultural artefacts into an exhibit for the Western eye. Like the zoo, many living objects are caged in a simulacrum these days of their original environment, whereas they might have been literally caged at one time. The cage of course is a two-way measure, it protects



itinerant humans from being damaged but it protects the human from damaging as well. Almost uniquely, considering their cultural value and importance, sleeping houses when displayed have few injunctions against physical contact. No doubt this is partly because the very act of binding them into a house secures them against theft, as well, the relative robustness of their material makes them secure against anything short of outright vandalism.

Caging aside, the translation of the house into the virtual reconstruction of a marae (a simulacrum) within the museum edifice likewise translates its meaning, washing away its cultural reality and imposing an entire sense, sensibility and interpretation that is purely Western. In Maori eyes the house is a living entity, corporeally composed and at the same time representative of many cultural forms, ancestors (tipuna), tapu and turangawaewae bound to the living people by tikanga (ritual).<sup>224</sup>

Under the Western gaze the invested meanings have been shorn away and what remains is artifice and workpersonship; the house has become decorative art. While the interpretation of a house by Maori in its original

setting would have had some submission to artistic sensibilities and certainly, carvers would have been aware of the artistic merits of various carvings, the primary consideration would have been, and largely remains, that the house is, in Western parlance anyway, a cult house. The house literally



41 & 42 – Photographs by the author – Te Papa, Wellington (2004).

*Te Hau ki Turanga* (above) and *Rongomaraeroa* (below). The family above, a Maori family, had an entirely different attitude to the whare than I imagine most visitors would do. They greeted the whare, and I could see them running their hands over the carvings to deliberately make physical contact and interact with them.

The fluidity of the carvings below are the result of using modern materials, such as plywood, some of which has been moulded to create the shapes of the figures. The central figure is the demi-god Maui, binding the sun with ropes.



<sup>224</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pp 39-41.



embodies Te Ao Maori, the Maori life, the Maori world but it is neither understood nor really elucidated this way to museum visitors.

Regular visitors in museums have however been acculturated to the representation of items of beauty in the Western idiom. As well, with a Christian ethos stretching 2000 years, idolatry or the personification of shaped matter with spirit is devalued as a reason for the production of objects, which are seen as iconic not actual. In part this may explain a failure to involve the visitor with the deeper spiritual meaning of such items, which may be denoted by no more than a label, a perfunctory representation at best. Rather, labelling accounts for such forms as provenance, historicity, artisans, all of which are important to the Western viewer and indeed the Western curator. The eponymous naming function of houses is appropriated and while this clearly accords with the Maori convention of referring to the house as a living being, this function of the name is not acknowledged. It can be easily argued that the naming of a house in Western conventions imputes uniqueness and further stresses the economic value of the item.

Where however is the information regarding the individual ancestors, their relationships to one another and the meaning of the carvings, paintings and tukutuku that are so invested in the origins of the house? No matter that a house may have been created for reasons of prestige, mana or even fabricated for illustrative purposes, its real origins are as a concentration of tapu that circuitously embodies the prestige of a hapu or an iwi. Further, all the parts of the house cleave to Wagner's concept of Gesamtkunstwerk, the total work of art.<sup>225</sup> This distinction however is homonymic. In the argot of the house as art, every item is related to one another as an artistic whole; however, within Te Ao Maori, the house may seem that way, but all the portions function to create an entity, a corporeal interjacence with the world of the ancestors.

In the Western gaze and thus in the Western museum – a repository of course of everything that falls under that heavy glance - the house, all its carvings, all the bold accoutrement of Te Ao Maori are seen as artworks, items of *beauty* because of the work that has been invested in making them. It is their *making* not their *being* that gains them a place in the museum. That place is then secured by such values as scarcity, antiquity and cultural authenticity, with no question of quality or merit. Secondly, as the objects represent otherness they are valued by the Western eye as an alternative form of representation that is not reliant on Western cultural origins. Viewers may be able to ascertain in their own mind a sort of universal and fetishised beauty. However, the same interpretative failure remains in place. The otherness is still formulated within a Western ideal of alien representation and is not rotated into a cultural understanding of the Maori perspective. The house continues to be valued in a different way, as being a different kind of art, not as being a different thing entirely, a living entity which is merely manifested in the wood that people see, no matter how clever and intrinsically artistic

---

<sup>225</sup> Richard Wagner who had in 1849 theorised the "Total Artwork", the Gesamtkunstwerk, in an essay, "The Artwork of the Future".

that wood may now look. To Maori of course, even the wood is tapu, associated with a whole Ao of meanings, to do with gods, myths, ancestors, history and the land. There is a spiritual association which might be appreciated by others, but which frankly others are never given any opportunity to engage with.

So, the Sleeping House and other taonga of Maori culture are seen in the light of being art-works. Specifically, the whare may be viewed as a concentration of decoration, and efflorescence of craftwork in the same way that say an intricate carved box might be, but writ large. Fundamentally however, the closest idiomatic representation in Western tradition is the church, the decoration of which, in certain variations of Christianity at least, is ornate, abundant and represented in the fabric of the building itself. An example of another similar expression which a proportion of Westerners might have encountered would be the classic Hindu temple, where a multitude of gods are exposed and are an intricate part of the building's composition: not just images though, to Hindu worshippers but actual god-heads, appurtenances into this actuality from the greater world of the gods.

As whare are recognised as secular objects though, not as religious centres (which strictly speaking they are not) this principle is not evident, much in the same way as an illustrated manuscript bible placed in the context of a museum has lost its religious function, and assumes another role, the work of art.

In the end, the staging of the Sleeping House, reliant as it is on a different cultural presentation, that of the West, emerges with some of its systems entirely intact, yet shorn of others. While in a regular marae visit, the house would be one portion of a cultural immersion in the Maori language, the engagement in a museum will consist of introductions to a number of cultures of which the whare will be one encounter among many. That also will be lessened to a singular, albeit rich example of the Maori culture, the Whare whakairo. The marae visit, which is experiential, is replaced with one where the house has become objectified. Its inner meaning and spiritual integuments are passed over and its merely wooden surfaces are the focus for the visitor. In the milieu of Western culture, the whare is a thing of beauty, but an analogy might be seeing an image of a person, as opposed to meeting with them.

### **Does the house continue to have the same meanings?**

As has been discussed in earlier chapters, there are numerous forms of communication taking place on a marae and these numerous forms function on diverse levels. Communication begins even before the entry point on a marae, with the gathering for the powhiri, or the organisation even of a hui. The purpose (take) thus determines the form that the powhiri will take and by extension modifies the visitor's initial experience of a particular marae. Similarly, the particular type of hui will determine the level at which a visitor may actively engage with the more unchanging aspects of a marae: the

ancestors, the house and the systems that these represent. It is the human elements which are most amorphous when communicating to and with the observer, the participant. Yet, while the *whare nui* may be unchanging, nevertheless the visitor may or may not receive the full level of communication available in and from the house. Many of the cultural values which are embodied in the house are only communicated directly to a sophisticated observer, someone who has themselves been inaugurated into *Te Ao Maori*.

While the casual museum visitor may never have visited a living marae and may never do so, many elements of the communication that take place with a *whare nui*, remain essentially unchanged. What may differ is the ease of understanding these elements. As with a *hui*, where there is invariably a take, the visitor to a museum will have individual reasons for visiting that museum, thereafter, the exigencies of museum design may dictate how their visit leads them. At both *Te Papa* and the Auckland War Memorial Museum, the respective *whare* are centrepieces of display and showcase the importance of Maori culture to the everyday life of New Zealand. *Hotunui*, in Auckland is visible from the central entrance hall, through a large opening, although visitors will most generally, be directed through other displays before reaching the house. At *Te Papa*, although the two *whare* are actually on upper levels, there is a semi-ceremonial pathway, *Te Ara-a-hine* which can lead visitors directly to *Rongomaraeroa* and from there on to *Te Hau ki Turanga*.

Design constraints aside, the prominent positioning of both these houses is a clear indicator of how these museums position Maori taonga to the visiting public. Both New Zealanders and foreign visitors are being proffered an insight into the importance of Maori taonga to the cultural heritage of New Zealand, the unique part of our heritage, what sets us aside as a nation and not a replicant of the United Kingdom.

This is not the case in the overseas museums, and although accorded very large display spaces, the positioning of each of *Rauru*, *Hinemihini* and *Ruatepupuke* makes the suggestion that while important, all of these taonga are singular displays amongst many. In fact, each is literally appended within the depths of the space around them, both the Field Museum and Museum fur Volkerkund providing annexes deep in their bowels and *Hinemihini*, being literally tucked in behind the Georgian mass of Clandon House.

So, although it may be easily possible in the cases of *Hotunui* and *Rongomaraeroa* to perform a full powhiri and approach the houses through any portals and vestibules presented by the museum facades, in no other case is this an option. These *whare* are at Auckland Museum and *Te Papa* respectively. *Te Hau ki Turanga*, as with the overseas *whare*, has been recessed into a large open space without direct access. Elsewhere such ceremonies must occur in truncated spaces. It can be easily argued that as *Hinemihini* is outdoors that the function here is even easier, I however am arguing that the marae space in front of *Hinemihini* has not been segregated and serves no sacral function – rather, it remains the rear lawn of Clandon House, which thus dominates and even subjugates *Hinemihini*. If the

lawn were subtended to *Hinemihī's* needs, at least partly isolated and claimed as a marae domain then the approach to *Hinemihī* might occur along different, more potently Maori, lines. Particularly the case with *Rauru* (see image of *Rauru*) where there is only the smallest of spaces before the house and that is approached from a landing via a staircase. Foreshortening of space however fades to irrelevancy, because although each house on occasion hosts powhiri, and continue to do so, the regular visitor meets the house without such portents and the very manner of their interaction is immediately modified.

The meaning of the house as the culminating juncture of a clearly ritual ceremony has been denuded and the meanings that remain invested are those evident more specifically to a Western artistic tradition; the houses are art, they are from foreign places, they have been collected. This differentiation is made by the assumption of Western, museum-style introductions to the whare, with pathways through cabinets and displays, explanatory signage and finally a cultural legacy which inclines to the appreciation of the whare as art-pieces. None of these of course are the original meanings of the house, they are not what these whare were designed or believed to communicate and they are at least partly, chance values. In short, for the majority of visitors the initial meaning of the house will be substantially different from the meaning of the house that they might have taken from visiting a house in situ in a fully functioning marae. Simply, a powhiri lends layers of meaning to the house, with its invocation.

In Te Ao Maori, whare are of course living entities. In contrast, to most Western observers, the whare and its constituent components are inanimate. Preservation and presentation has thus focussed on the physical items, not on the preservation or presentation of their intangible nature. Has this intangible mauri, the life-force of these carvings and other taonga remained intact over time however? Is it conveyed in the same way to a knowledgeable visitor, someone versed in what to expect?

Opinions on this matter will differ. What we can be certain of, is that in their current state, each of the houses has had recent contact and involvement with their originating iwi and that conservation, restoration or preservation has been carried out with the consultation of those iwi.<sup>226</sup> In this sense, these houses have been revived, their spiritual links have been renewed and they have been reminded that they still have a valuable place in the lives of their people and that their mauri is indeed intact and will remain so. There appears to be no literature regarding the interaction of iwi with these houses that suggests that anyone feels the houses have been entirely compromised or that their mauri has completely died. Indeed, during rededication ceremonies, each of these houses has been reopened in some way over the last fifteen years.<sup>227</sup>

<sup>226</sup> Garbutt, "Conserving the Living Object - the Conservation of Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand". pp 35; 40; 47.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid. pp 52-56.

It is my contention however that regardless of how the houses and their constituent parts are viewed by external visitors, whether Maori, those versed in Te Ao Maori or otherwise, that at all times the houses have maintained their mauri. This is evident in the story of *Rauru*, where the original carvings had been completed or partially completed by the carver Te Waru. During the process however he had violated tapu, the result of which was the death of two successive wives before Te Waru abandoned the carving. The remainder of the carving for *Rauru* was only completed a number of years later by other carvers, specifically Tene Waitere. The makutu (sickness, bewitchment) which lay on the carvings still remained however and shortly after the tapu raising ceremony for the completed house, the two tohunga (priests) involved died.<sup>228</sup>

The story of *Rauru* actually clearly illustrates the power of tapu several times and is an important case showing the continued implications of an older exercise of tapu into an era in which tapu was increasingly obviated, for reasons discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Intense tapu I argue never leaves Whakairo which have been properly imbued with mauri during their formation; much in the same way as mokomokai (preserved heads) retain their mana and their tapu.<sup>229</sup> Formation is a term I prefer to, say, creation, as the whakairo starts with wood, which has innate tapu and the ancestor is then formed or shaped out of that wood. There is an absolute analogy between the representation of an ancestor and the actual remains of such, as Whakairo transcend representation. There is the element of the zen koan regarding the sound of a tree falling in a forest here; it does not matter whether the tapu and the mana of the objects is recognised by the viewer, they continue to exist. The hidden meanings of western art, which remain unrecognised by most viewers in a museum are likewise lost to most viewers of Whare whakairo. The visitor is most likely appreciating the art as ART, representations of items portrayed with skill and even beauty. Here however, as well as having meaning in the spirals, forms and means of representation, the Whakairo also express other meanings at a more spiritual level.

It could be argued that the aura, the sense and air round these houses convey such messages to perceptive visitors, albeit subliminally. There is no perceptual threshold crossed – the priming for which would normally be the powhiri. Nevertheless the threshold exists, some visitors will come away with a sense, feeling or notion conveyed by the house, without recourse to any explanation other than intuition. To a knowledgeable sightseer the explanation would be overt, the houses mana and mauri had been asserted and had touched the visitor.

---

<sup>228</sup> Ibid. pg 38.

<sup>229</sup> Mokomokai are Maori heads which have been preserved by a smoking and drying procedure. This was a not uncommon process in the period before European contact, and was used to preserve the heads of both defeated enemies and revered kin. The heads do not shrink and they retain the moko very visibly. European interest, from Cooks voyage on was high (Banks managed to procure two heads) and a trade was established in these grisly artefacts. In this trade, oftentimes the heads of killed slaves, hastily tattooed were used, rather than valuable, sometimes taonga. These days, there is a strong push by many iwi to have mokomokai heads repatriated – many Western museums continue to have collections.

Finally, there is a strong correlation between the tourist hui as we have discussed it and the museum house. Although the elements of the ritual remain the same in the tourist hui and the enactment may be polished and exact, what is being provided to the visitor is a trimmed version, where they will not be alienated by the experience. Likewise, the visit to a house, set outside of the marae, is trammelled by being deliberately displayed in a way that is notionally more acceptable to western visitors. The final result is a house which innately retains its conceptual integrity but which is perceived using a different value-set from the Maori values which are the essence of its origins.

No discussion can be complete without mentioning the ara, waharoa and taiapa of those whare which slumber in museums. In each case the pathways and barriers are those that have been erected, not by the usage of tapu and inclination of the tangata whenua, so much as European barriers, such as the positioning of the houses as collected objects, subsumed in the mass of museums. Pathways to the house are laid out by European guides and exist in two forms. One, an actual pathway, is determined by how and where the house is positioned, so individuals must navigate through other displays to reach the whare themselves. There are two ritual pathways which lead almost directly to *Rongomaraeroa*, Te Marae, at Te Papa.



43 & 44 – Photographs by the author – *Rangitihi* (Above, Auckland, 2006) and *Te Wharepuni a Maui* (Below, Linden Museum Storage - Stuttgart, 2006).

Not every conserved Whare is currently on display. Both these houses await possible re-erection. Note, not every one of the carvings above belong to Rangitihi.



The other form, admittedly now often in consultation with the houses originating iwi, has been the use of truncated ritual elements – but these position the house as an ‘alien’ object within the milieu of the other collected items in a museum. Thus, although ostensibly in order to maintain the traditions associated with a house, in actuality, the strictures placed on visitors provides a sense of removal to the visitor and emphasise the cultural otherness – the very reason many people are visiting a museum in the first place. Such strictures include the removal of shoes and a no eating policy.

In the clear absence of guides, guidance is provided in the form of signage and explanatory information provided nearby the houses, which differs in both quantity and frankly, quality. In some the signage consists of explanatory photos and text, mainly focussing on information more partial to a Western observer, such as the provenance, history and architectural features of the whare. To a Maori observer, it might be more important to know the whakapapa of the house and what ancestors live within it. Te Marae, at Te Papa has a multi-media display which details the process of the powhiri and includes information about the house itself. This very modernity fits neatly with the beautiful confection that is Cliff Whiting’s creation, so modern in its own right – but is elucidatory in a way that simple text forms cannot be.

So, the journey that people undertake, is not that into Te Ao Maori, following a pathway provided by ritual that protects and utilises tapu, but rather is one into a kind of lesser realm, where beautiful carvings are on display and brood over the visitor, really as art-pieces, with a kind of aura of mystery about why they look as they do.

While several of the museum houses are now being utilised, at least in facsimile, for hui, it seems doubtful that any one of them would ever be used for the full panoply that a living house, on a full marae might be. It is unlikely for instance that a tangi might ever take place in a museum setting – nor is it a suitable venue, for numerous reasons. So, the raison of the houses themselves changes. They come to conform more to these new expectations and the barriers, gateways and pathways, are all lesser, smaller and less sophisticated.

Paul Tapsell confronts this issue face on, asking the question with regard to the Auckland War Memorial Museum, and more specifically of course the whare *Hotunui*: “Are there occasions when you use the Museum as a marae?”<sup>230</sup> Although the response is a clear yes, it is equally certain that the take for the hui have been truncated. The hui that are mentioned are hui of greeting, essentially no more than powhiri, they are not the full range of hui that would be expected at a traditional marae. The responses to that question also draws on the question of tikanga and the difficulties in negotiation tikanga at museums in New Zealand, where the enclosed whare are from different originating regions than the soil on which they are technically standing. As Sir Hugh Kawharu put it: “But if a museum does it wrong then you end up with a ‘national marae’ situation like the one at

---

<sup>230</sup> Tapsell, “Taonga : A Tribal Response to Museums”. pp 237-8. The responses are from, and the question is directed to, Sir Hugh Kawharu, the distinguished Maori elder, from an interview conducted in 1997.

Waitangi, and now in the Museum of New Zealand. They are a contradiction in terms. How can you have tikanga if you have no tangata whenua?”<sup>231</sup> While it is outside of the scope of this thesis to deal with issues of sovereignty regarding the tikanga of taonga and especially whare, this is certainly an issue of great importance. There are questions about not only ownership and protection regarding the physical manifestation of these things, but equally the whole question of the metaphysical nature of these same ‘objects’. It is not simply the well-being of the items and their care and conservation that is in question; these are Western philosophical values based on economy and the sanctity of history. To Maori the question rather is one of regard for sacred and living entities, contained in the wood but with unique and powerful mauri and with a continuing relationship both with an original place (their own tangata whenua or turangawaewae) and a relationship verified in whakapapa. These, as much as corporeal human remains are ancestors related to actual, living people. Their mana must therefore have similar notional claims.

## Conclusions

Essentially, I propose that there are three types of marae. The first are the Traditional Marae, those that have a basic marae form and maintain a traditional manner of interaction with mainly a singular hapu. The second type are Urban Marae, a relatively recent form, that has arisen out of new Maori needs, as previously rural Maori flocked to cities in the period after World War II. These marae are located in cities, surrounded by urbanity and amongst their most common features will likely be their usage by descendants of many hapu. The third type are what I refer to as Conserved Marae, those that are maintained in conserved situations, generally museums. These usually consist of a single central whare and for varied reasons, none of these marae are fully activated, the activities and usage of these marae are truncated by their circumstances.

Marae, this thesis contends, are not made up simply of buildings, nevertheless, the constituent buildings are the foundation of the marae principle and this chapter discussed and elaborated what buildings may be found on marae, both those of the past and more particularly on the modern marae. The marae continues to exhibit both resiliency and fluidity when approached with change. Thus, while technology has influenced the architectural form and manner of the various buildings, their Maori fabric has remained unchanging, ancestors either symbolised or directly represented within the buildings. The fluidity is however represented by the new uses to which marae are put in a modern world, uses such as tourism and specifically Maori learning in the Kohanga Reo, which so many marae now have incorporated into their domain.

At the heart of all marae are however the Whare nui. Not all of these are carved, indeed many are not, but the greatest houses of Maoridom are the dazzling Whare whakairo, some small, others grand.

---

<sup>231</sup> Ibid. pg 238. Sir Hugh Kawharu again.



The distinction between carved and uncarved is obvious, but the details of those carvings are the subject of the next chapter, which discusses Whare whakairo.



## **Chapter Five:**

# **NGA WHARE WHAKAIRO – Carved Houses**

**Introduction; WHAKAIRO: Tetahi Whare whakairo – A carved house; The meaning of the whole house;  
WHARE: Tohunga Whakairo Rakau - the wood carving expert; Preparations before carving;  
Constructing the house – deconstructing the house; WHAKAIRO – CARVINGS: Pare – lintels; Poupou;  
Epa and Amo; Tekoteko, Pou tahuhu, Pou tokomanawa, Pou tuarongo – figures carved in the round;  
Other representation; The whare as a kinship unit; Conclusions**

There is a special moment involved in entering a Whare whakairo. You pause at the first border, the paepae, step across and then usually slide off your shoes, in a sign of respect. In some whare you are one amongst many others being welcomed gladly or sadly as part of a hui (gathering) or tangi (mourning ceremony). In other whare, you may slip in alone, marking your respect for the whare privately.

The second border is the kuwaha, or doorway. Above your head is the pare or lintel, usually ornately and exquisitely carved. This is an obvious and often potent threshold. You feel almost compelled to pause, knowing that the barrier is not just a doorway, but is a traverse into a different place. The interior of the house has a different feel, a different sense and is differently tapu. Inside you are surrounded by ancestors, sometimes your own, often many you do not know, may never know. Their open eyes look across at you, sometimes with cool regard, sometimes with disdain, occasionally almost smiling. Clearly they have an aura, a real sense beyond being either wooden figures or even effigies and representations of real tipuna (ancestors).

We have moved our journey into the house and so this chapter follows on from the last, which detailed all the parts of the modern marae, and which discussed what kinds of marae there are. Now we look inside and outside the Whare whakairo, the carved house, and look at the meaning of the house, what all its constituent parts are and what they mean. We discuss how they were built, by whom and for whom. This chapter is about Nga Whare Whakairo, the Carved Houses.

## **WHAKAIRO**

The most obvious form of decoration on marae are the carvings and while not every whare is carved, most marae will have some carvings, on gateways, on whare doorways or just as decoration. It could even be argued that the principal forms of communication on marae are in fact the whakairo, the carvings which inhabit the Whare whakairo, carved houses, and which are displayed to every visitor. Although not all whare are Whare whakairo, carvings impart additional layers of meaning and forms of communication that can be interpreted by the visitor, even if that is not easy to do.

Carving was, and remains the most notable expression of art in Maori culture. It also continues to represent the Maori people in the world's eye, as much possibly as the haka, our noble war dance and the moko (tattoo), which to some extent at least is the expression of whakairo written on flesh.

## **Tetahi Whare whakairo – A carved house**

Our starting point on our own journey into the whare should be brief description of the layout of a typical carved house, a Whare whakairo. Without this an understanding of the use of whakairo as part of the houses intrinsic (and extrinsic) fabric might be difficult to follow. The broad descriptions given apply firstly to modern whare but also take into account the comments of many others, some

dating back to the early nineteenth century.<sup>232</sup> While much has changed in that time, as has been discussed, much has remained the same. There is little variation in fact between houses. Any modifications to the plan outlined below are really only in size, whether the house is carved and how the house is laid out in relation to the surrounding landscape. All of this, and other details, are dealt with more completely in later sections.

A typical carved whare (Whare whakairo) is an elongated rectangle, the sides being longer, and with a single formal entrance at the front. Other entrances in other parts of the house have been discussed elsewhere. This doorway (kuwaha, whatitoka) is usually off-centre to one side, usually the left and this is in some way balanced by a window (matapihi), usually set more to the right of centre.<sup>233</sup> In some cases the door may be in the centre with a pair of windows, one on each side.

Generally, the house consists of a single room; single-celled architecture is the norm for all forms of whare in Maori architecture, not just the Whare nui. The single room design does not differ, however, if the house is uncarved, but rather is a feature typical of the Maori whare and indeed other Polynesian traditional dwellings. As Professor of Architecture, Michael Austin suggests, this is also typical of other Polynesian cultures and is one of the notable architectural features of our living spaces.<sup>234</sup>

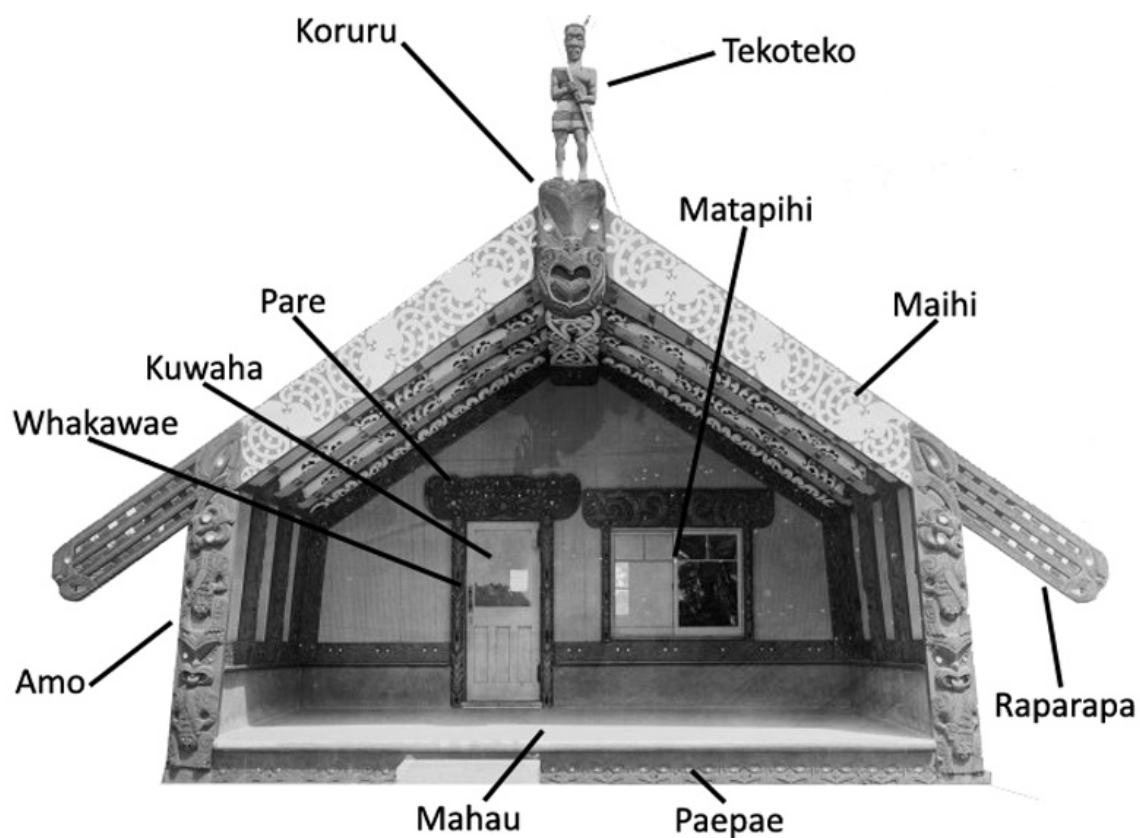
When viewed from the front, a standard whare has a peaked roof with front eave-boards (maihi) which have a distinct overhang. These eaves are decorated from the top point of the roof entirely to the end of the overhang, which extends past the roof's natural edge, sometimes almost to the ground; these extensions are known as raparapa. The eaves are supported on each side by figures, known as amo. At the centre peak of the roof may be one or more carved figures, either a mask-face (koruru), a standing figure (tekoteko) or both. On occasion this may be replaced by some other special figure, such as the famous whale from Whangara marae on the East Coast of the North Island. The door and the window are both recessed within a porch (mahau), often quite deep, the sides of which may be decorated with flat, standing, carved figures (poupou, the same as those found within the whare and detailed below). The front of the porch is open. The area surrounding the door (its entire frame: whakawae) and the window are both usually highly embellished.

The interior of the house is also highly decorated. There is usually a carved or painted ridge-post (tahuhu) stretching from the front to the rear of the whare and this may have an extension or may itself be continued from, or echoed by, the same under the eave of the porch. There is a very important alternate meaning for the word tahuhu, which also means ancestry, thus the backbone of the whare also alludes to its role in representing whakapapa. While this post is usually decorated, it occasionally remains entirely undecorated. To bear up the roof there may be one or more support

<sup>232</sup> Salmond: Hui; Brown Moorehu Architecture; Mead: Te Toi Whakairo; Mead: Tikanga Maori in particular.

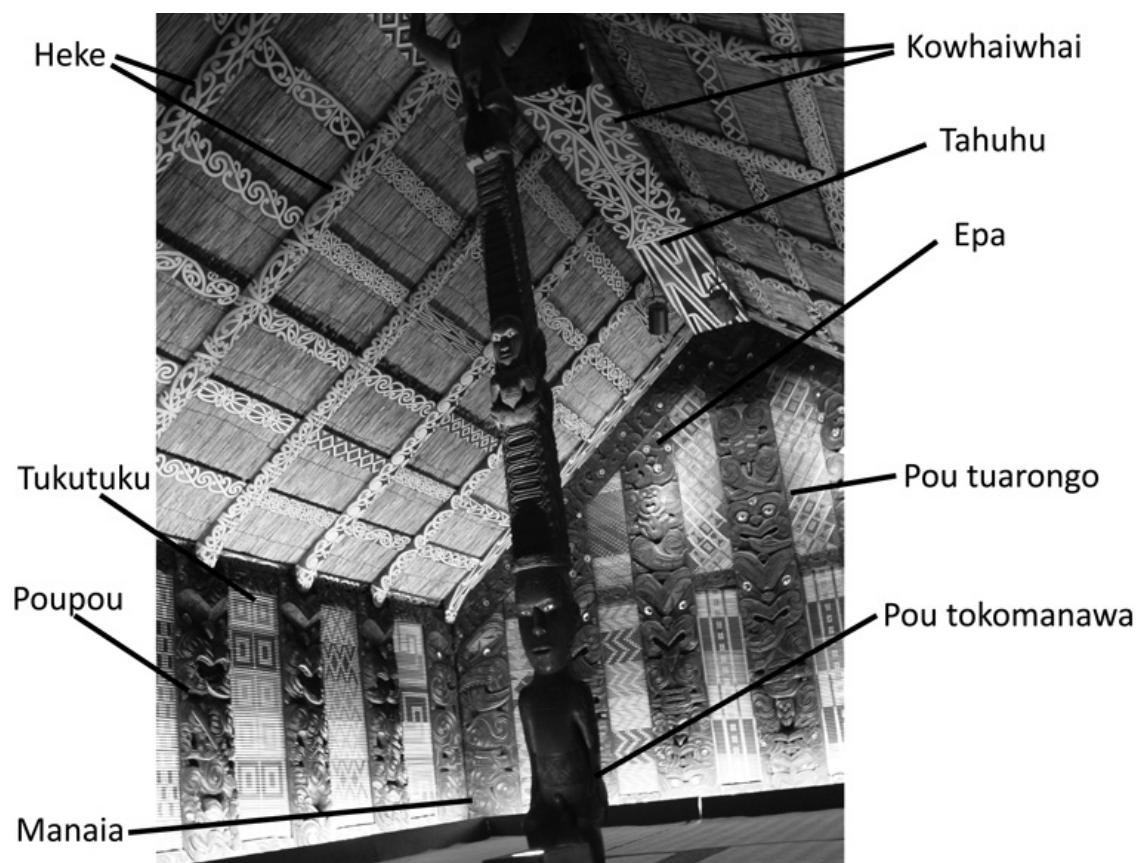
<sup>233</sup> Note – *ku-waha* – the linguistic link to the word for gateway, *waha-roa*.

<sup>234</sup> Michael Robert Austin, "Polynesian Architecture in New Zealand" (Thesis (PhD, Architecture) - University of Auckland, 1976., 1976).



45 & 46 – Diagrams of the parts of whare, Interior and exterior – By the author (2007).

All of these components are detailed in the main text; they are also described in Appendix Two.



posts (Pou tokomanawa) which are set along the centre-line of the interior, usually specially carved with figures, shown in a more three dimensional manner, which are usually sculpted from the wood of the posts. This is a nominal architectural device in modern buildings, which have self-supporting roof structures, but one that remains for reasons of tradition. Pou tokomanawa is an important, essentially compound word. While poutokomanawa refers to a particular support pole in the whare, it literally means something like: support pole of the heart. Pou and toko are both words for support posts, while manawa refers to the heart. This particular post is often equated to the heart of an eponymous ancestor.

There are visible support posts (heke: ribs) running down from the ridge-pole to the tops of the walls, which are there to support the roof, and these are often decorated with painted scroll-work (kowhaiwhai), or are occasionally partly carved.

Along each of the four interior walls – and essentially part of them – are relief-carved, standing figures (poupou, epa), shown mainly face on, but a few, usually in corners, in profile. In an artistic convention their hands and feet are turned down, in or out, so that the toes and fingers are clearly displayed. These are the same as the carved poupou figures found on the porch. Often more than one anthropomorphic figure is combined into a single piece, one figure standing, a little totem-like, above another for instance.

Poupou and epa are separated by gaps which are filled with other decorative forms, such as tuku-tuku (decorative woven patterns), or even just undecorated walls. It is important to note that although these all now invariably ‘hang’ or are mounted on the surface of modern walls, in the past they were integral to the structure of whare and were sometimes supportive parts of the wall.<sup>235</sup> This can be clearly seen in the undecorated, sometimes damaged wood which lies at the base of some older carvings, which were originally planted in the earth.

This is how the early twentieth century Maori guide and author Makereti Papakura put it:

The whare whakairo had all the wooden slabs inside and out adorned with carvings, and between the carvings there would be panels called tukutuku, made of platwork in beautiful designs. The rafters would be painted with scroll work and coloured white, black, and red, and the whole house would be finished with the most artistic taste both inside and outside.<sup>236</sup>

To a casual visitor, the house is actually a fractal representation of human forms, written on the medium of wood and iterating an unknown message. The context of the house can be given more detail by those same fractal images, when looked at more closely.

---

<sup>235</sup> This is discussed more fully elsewhere, but the technique of using European framing and placing poupou on these walls rather than buried in the earth was in common use already during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

<sup>236</sup> Papakura and Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*. pg 288.

### The meaning of the whole house

Maori traditions, perhaps tikanga even (which has a stronger connotation than the word tradition) give a special status to the parts of a whare when treated together. This is a little like the notion that the sum of the whole can exceed the sum of the parts. In essence, the typical carved whare, as a whole, represents an ancestor figure, most particularly the eponymous ancestor for whom the house may have been named. Remembering, of course, that not all iwi have a tradition of eponymous ancestor house naming. Thus, certain architectural elements represent parts of that body. The pendant maihi or eave-boards at the front can be seen as arms, the ends of which are raparapa, the open hands of the whare. The face-mask at the front centre is the head of the body, where there is a tekoteko that can represent the ancestor directly. The interior ridge-pole (tahuhu) is the backbone and the rafters (and side-boards) are the ribs (heke).

When you enter the whare, you are entering the body of that ancestor, their puku or stomach in many traditions. Inside, the Pou tokomanawa (main support post), while representing the rangatira of the house, is also the ngakau or heart. Maori architecture is clearly not alone in physically personifying houses, and in fact this is a hallmark of other Austronesian cultures as well. House Societies have many features including the idea of the house as a social unit, an actual member of society. In practice, even given the long separation from the same origins, House Societies in South East Asia are hugely instructive when discussing the Whare whakairo. Professor Roxana Waterson of the National University in Singapore is an expert on South East Asian houses and makes the same distinction about houses in that region. In some instances, they also represent the body and use the ideal of body parts in their construction: “Still a further sense in which the house is regarded as animate concerns the way that it is thought of as a body. Frequently house parts are named after parts of the body, and the use of space may also reflect this symbolism.”<sup>237</sup>

As our discussions of the Austronesian peoples have made clear, long before arriving in New Zealand there were antecedent architectural forms. Similar traditions of the house physically representing an ancestor figure remain among many other Austronesian cultures, particularly in the great long-houses found in Borneo and other parts of South East Asia.<sup>238</sup> The anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss discusses this same issue when talking about house societies, and is here summarised by Roxana Waterson:

Houses in this sort of society, suggests Levi-Strauss, generally share a number of features: they have a name, which may be inspired by the location or some other feature; they are perpetuated over time and not allowed to disappear, at least from memory; they may be elaborately decorated, especially on the

<sup>237</sup> Roxana Waterson, *The Living House : An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997).pg 121.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid. pg 176.



façade; and they are the sites for the performance of ceremonies. House societies are characteristically divided into groups putatively tracing their descent from ancestors who founded the houses.<sup>239</sup>

In New Zealand, the body representation may have had religious significance at some point, when such houses were more closely related to Maori practices of ancestor worship and tapu. Now the idea of house parts representing the human body is a series of architectural conventions where each of the elements is traditional and replicate in *form* what is no longer *functional*. Much in the same way that the wall carvings, which were once structurally supportive, no longer are but remain as part of the convention of whare building.<sup>240</sup>

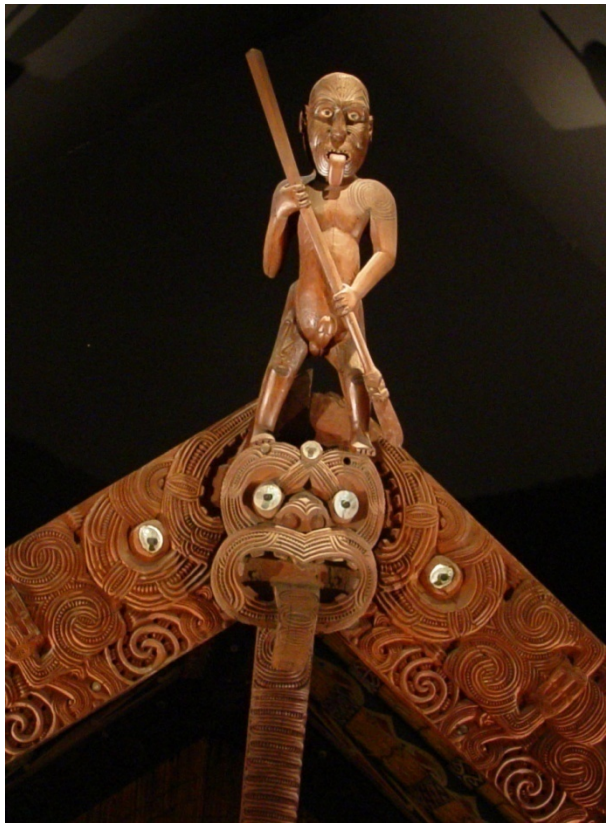
Regardless of how a modern visitor may or may not feel about visiting a carved whare, the original ideal of an eponymous ancestor represented in the house itself remains true. Eponymous in many cases anyway. It is certain however that carved or not, named for an ancestor or not, that the house was, as a conceptual rule, architecturally representative of a human body and if built by a Tohunga whakairo rakau was imbued with tapu and mana related at least in part to atua and the mauri of tipuna. While this was likely a certain belief amongst Maori at one time, the awareness of the at least semi-sacred nature of the building remains with those who have been raised or taught to understand this nuance. This is despite whare now being physically re-written by having their essence imposed over fundamentally modern architectural elements.

Poupou or wall carvings, however, keep more of their original inception and meaning. Poupou and other elements within the house also represent tipuna (ancestors) and likely retain a more tangible link to those people within the minds of visitors to a whare.

The whole house and its parts, the Whare nui, literally does embody the aspirations and cultural beliefs at least, of the people who will regularly use it. A close analogy might be the use in Christian architecture of a nave and transept in a church, developed to replicate the cross – and by extension, the human body – and so putting a physical, architectural form to faith. In a society where tipuna were essential to your personal life, by providing your mana and forming your history via your whakapapa (genealogy), the revivification in the form of a house, of an important ancestor, was an elaborate, potent symbol to an entire hapu, or even iwi. With our current belief systems it may be difficult to transport ourselves, but to the minds of people immersed in a world of mana and tapu, entering a large house (those few that probably existed before the arrival of Europeans) was awe-inspiring. In New Zealand however, the resources of hapu had been concentrated mainly on the production of military equipage; pa and waka. Without the focused resources that would have

<sup>239</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Voie Des Masques; the Way of the Masks* (London: Cape, 1983). pg 138.

<sup>240</sup> Skinner, "Another Modernism : Maoritanga and Maori Modernism in the 20th Century". pg 75.



47, 47a,b – Photographs by the author – Rauru (Above, Below Left, Hamburg, 2006); 47c Unknown photographer, Rauru (ca. 1901, NZ).

Top Left: The standing figure is a tekoteko (note his erect penis) his feet resting on a koruru (face mask). You can see the top section of the maihi or eave-boards. Top Right: This (the upright figures) is one of the two amo which support the maihi. The bottom end of the maihi can be seen extending past the amo, the lowermost part of which, here carved in a pattern, is referred to as a raparapa.

Bottom Left: Interior of Rauru, showing in the centre the Pou tokomanawa (support pole) Around the walls the carved figures are poupou and the colourful painted roof poles are heke. The tall end figures are epa.

Bottom Right: A young Makereti Papakura on the porch of Rauru, seated at the kuwaha or doorway. This is surrounded by a carved border known as whakawae and is surmounted by a carved lintel or pare.



resulted from political consolidation, there was not enough concentrated wealth to produce large-scale religious monuments as well; pa were recognisably the flower of Maori engineering.<sup>241</sup>

Nevertheless, there was a tradition of important whakairo, and great carving skill, and the wealth (or strictly speak power and mana) that was required to commission these whakairo was visible in many forms, most particularly Waka taua (war canoes) and partially decorated houses.

When Whare whakairo became more prevalent, they were no more than a thorough articulation of a form that had long existed in the minds of Maori. While owing their physical nature of newly larger dimensions and new building technology to Europeans they had a spiritual root in Maori religious belief. If Maori in the nineteenth century seemed to be creating newly large whare, and while this might seem to relate directly to the example of European building practices (churches, halls, houses) or technology, I argue otherwise. Maori might have built larger in the past, but had been constrained by their own economy and their concentration of resources elsewhere. The decision however to use the newer, easier European technologies, was an easy one. Amongst other things it must have made larger whare more economically viable.

Here in New Zealand, with the concentration of construction on pa and waka, when focus turned to religious observance the results were more compact. The medium utilised was wood. The wooden gods were now condensed and compressed into the interior of a single structure, the Whare whakairo.

These gods (tipuna, and atua) were set to preside over a repositioned sacred space, the interior of the whare. Bare of the scale and trappings ordered by a politico-religious hierarchy and physically more dense, concentrated as they were into a single wooden building.

Even given their long separation from other Polynesian cultures, Maori culture produced yet another variation on the model of the marae, retaining the marae concept, the sacredness of the marae atea and even some of the attendant structures but also producing a single significant building as a distillation of the ideal of the marae. The Whare nui, ostensibly say a chief's house or the house of a hapu was a tangible expression of the mana of that hapu and the form it took was strictly analogous to that in other parts of the Pacific. Figures of gods and ancestors were spaced around a sacral enclosure, carved in anthropomorphic form and treated with the reverence and dignity that their implied mana and innate tapu suggested. Theft or looting by enemies of these sacred figures diminished the mana of the entire hapu. Aside from the question of mana was the vast economic investment involved in producing such a large-scale work, involving as it would the patronage of at least one and often several carvers, usually for years.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>241</sup> And were so similar in form and style to confuse the Tahitian priest Tupaia into believing he saw marae.

<sup>242</sup> There are a number of descriptions showing the large resourcing needed which may be referred to in: Papakura and Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*.

The signification, or complex symbology, of the whole building transcended the sum of its parts. On one level it functioned in the minds of visitors as an ancestral individual remade or even reborn into a building. On the next level, the Whare whakairo represented the mana and the wealth of at least a single patron and to a large extent the originating hapu, even if only by extension. These ideals were also convoluted with the religious significance which is evident from the fact that whakairo was so tapu, represented a vast amount of mana and was so concentrated in a single whare. Such aspects, as the infused mana and innate mauri were universally recognisable as well and incipient as Maori cultural values. A carved Whare whakairo represented and communicated the same things to *other* hapu and other iwi. The desecration of mana involved in taking a house was enormous and led tribes to drastic measures to protect their carvings.

The house *Ruatepupuke II* for instance was built as a replacement for one whose carvings had been hidden and then lost. Only later, with the advent of European belief systems and the palpable disregard of tapu by Europeans were these layers of meaning stripped away. This cycle was mostly complete by the end of the nineteenth century. What remains currently is a *sense* of the tapu that once inhabited these whakairo but not necessarily the same *meaning*. The colonial authorities understood the mana of Whare whakairo, as evidenced by their confiscations of such houses, partly for European reasons such as to display them, but also to be punitive in Maori terms. In the 1850s until the end of the land wars the destruction of a whare or its confiscation by the colonial government might mean a tremendous loss of both mana and wealth to a hapu. Later, whare might more easily become economic artefacts and simply be sold by their putative owners.

## WHARE

Marae often contain a number of buildings, as the previous chapter detailed, usually with distinct functions and purposes. The most important is always the Whare nui, the Meeting House. Some of these remain unadorned, but many are beautifully carved and are then known as Whare whakairo, Carved Houses. Actually, in the strictest sense it is no longer true to say they are carved. Nowadays whare are usually quite conventional European buildings to which carvings and other decoration are attached on the outside, along the interior walls and even under the roof. As an earlier chapter made clear, this is not a recent phenomenon but the very Maoriness of this covering is so complete it obscures the European details beneath.

Due to the attrition of time, there are few genuinely old carved whare. In part this was owing to destruction, in part to the naturally rainy temperate climate of New Zealand quickly rotting wood. In the past Whare were recognised as having a life-cycle, which included death. While this is a traditional belief, that was more of a truism, as there was no way to preserve these valuable entities in difficult conditions. The tapu nature of (some) whare may also have had an influence. With modern care and

preservation techniques however, there are some whare which are still in continuous use and which are well over a hundred years old and these will continue to age gracefully.

This next section discusses the construction of Whare whakairo, who made them and at least to some extent how they were made, in the past.

### **Tohunga Whakairo rakau - the wood carving expert**

Carving was done by specialist men, not necessarily members of tribal aristocracy although members of the rangatira (and ariki) ranks were often trained or expected to have the ability to carve.<sup>243</sup> Not necessarily just carve either, but engage in other artistic activities, although carving may have been the premier expression of this capability. Given the importance of carving in defining the mana of hapu, I surmise that, an actual aristocratic genealogical foundation of carving knowledge was maintained. Like other hierarchical runanga (centres of learning or knowledge), such as those for chieftainly leadership skills and for training as magic-wielders, training in the highest forms of carving, especially the ritual involved, were seemingly exclusive to those of high mana, or those born to high-order descent lines. Commoners were not entitled to carve or design important waka or whare. This acted to perpetuate, of course, the place of this same hierarchy of rangatira and ariki and emphasised the cult nature of the whare.

Carving knowledge, like that of other chieftainly attributes was taught in special schools or runanga. Specialist carvers however took apprentices to help them with their work and in order for them to become specialists as well. As with other tohunga, there were likely levels of skill and mana as well. These would relate both to the skill as a carver and also to the ability to perform high level ritual. Ritual was essential of course to the correct completion of important carving.

The strict form of learning, problems with violating tapu, the innate conservatism of patron-rangatira who were also seeking to maintain tapu and mana all contributed to a certain sameness of style. Not so much uniformity as a strict adherence to conventions. To return to the analogy of Christian art and architecture, loose interpretations of church art were rejected by the church for non-conformity. The same occurred within the construction of Whare whakairo. Carving could be rejected either for actual breaches in tapu, or because carving convention had been broken, which *implied* the bending of tapu. Carving was, and as we shall see remains, subject to restrictions of tapu, and injunctions when not followed could even lead to supernatural death, as a result of the breaking of tapu; not simply execution levied by the tribe.

A house may consist of literally hundreds of carvings, and this is clear when you encounter a large carved whare. There may for example be fifteen to twenty figures on both long sides in a house, two or more support posts, a central rafter, door-posts at the entrance, side pieces

---

<sup>243</sup> Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*. pg 190. See also the stories about Major Fox (Te Pokiha Taranui) and his brother Te Waata carving waka detailed in the previous chapter.





48 – Carvers at work. Photograph by W Hammond (about 1900).

While this does not show the change in the level of tapu at work, the evidence for that is found in the photograph itself as the tapu process would certainly have remained esoteric and mysterious in older days. However, the use of European tools and techniques are made clear with the metal chisels, the elevated working area and the use of seats.

and a framing area at the front of the house. All of these are explained in more detail above. They are an enormous undertaking and it is unsurprising that the best Tohunga whakairo rakau were *expensive* and in great demand, at least that was certainly the case during the early and mid-nineteenth century and we can presume that for the pre-contact period also. As the discussion about patronage made clear in an earlier chapter, the call for these skills subsided in the later nineteenth century. The results were a loss of expertise and the loss of both status and economic support for these valuable members of Maori cultural society. These skills were almost irretrievably lost before the Maori Art and Crafts School was established in Rotorua in the 1930s. At the root of this I believe was the depopulation of Maori and the economic debilitation that continued to take place within Maori communities. Sadly, this was coupled with the loss of belief and the smaller place for the Whare whakairo in Te Ao Maori.

### **Preparations before carving**

Once a suitable Tohunga whakairo rakau had been chosen, or had agreed to produce the carvings for the house, many preparations had to be put in place. Trees were selected by the tohunga, often

even years in advance, to literally give their lives for the proposed house. Usually, trees were chosen of dimensions to suit the carver, and most often from totara, Preferred in the first instance for its suitability for carving.

Such a simple thing as choice of wood was all important, particularly in the pre-European era when carving and cutting were carried out using stone tools, much more difficult and much slower to use. As a general rule however, the preferred choice was the totara tree (*Podocarpus totara*), a New Zealand native that is suitably sized and pliable, up to one and a half metres in diameter and up to thirty metres in height. As well, Totara wood, which is usually grained very straight, was easy to work and at the same time strong and hard wearing.

In Te Ao Maori, the most prominent god had become Tane Mahuta, god of the forests. This is a fascinating contrast with some other parts of the Pacific, where in Hawaii for instance Ku (Maori: Tu ma Tauenga) the god of war vied with Lono (Maori: Rongo, Hawaiian god of peace, Maori god of cultivated crops), or in the Cook Islands where with few forests and a reliance on the sea, the foremost god was certainly Tangaloa (Maori: Tangaroa), god of the Sea. Trees were tapu to Tane and ritual had to be carefully followed to ensure that no transgressions of tapu resulted in his godly wrath.

Even before their lives as carvings commenced, the wood from which they were formed was filled with its own mana, its own mauri (life-spirit), and, with rituals and the carving process, was given a second life, by the tohunga, usually the carver, involved in the selection and felling of the tree.<sup>244</sup> In fact, all the rituals and injunctions that applied to the building of a Whare whakairo, were similar to those employed in the construction of pa. The process of gathering the wood was highly tapu:

The men who accompanied the Tohunga to cut the tree would all be under tapu. They would leave the kainga at dawn before partaking of any food, and when they reached the tree which was to be cut, they laid all their toki (axes) at the foot of it, while the Tohunga karakia.<sup>245</sup>

As Makereti Papakura explained it, “The Maori of old believed that the forest, especially the trees, were as living beings like himself, who possessed a mauri (life principle).”<sup>246</sup> Chants were sung to atua, to protect, to mollify and to commence the woods transition:

---

<sup>244</sup> Papakura and Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*. pg 292. In some instances in pa, as in whare, human sacrifice might take place, this was discussed in an earlier section.

These processes also accorded neatly with the erection of heiau in Hawaii: “*Kamakau described the ritual observances for obtaining the timber for the houses and for the main image within a luakini, involving the consecration of the adz [sic]; the formation of a large procession up the mountainside consisting of the ruler and his chiefs, retainers, and priests; prayers; a tree-felling feast; the leaving of the body of a lawbreaker at the stump of the moku 'ohi'a; and then the slow return to the lowlands that had to proceed in absolute silence and that no commoner could witness on pain of death.*” Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *The Works of the People of Old = Na Hana a Ka Po'e Kahiko* ([Honolulu]: Bishop Museum Press, 1976). pg 136.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid. pg 292.

<sup>246</sup> Papakura and Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*. pg 290.

The Karakia, before Toki cut the Tree, while it is still standing:

*E Io i runga ia Rangi, titiro ibo, whakarongo ibo,*

O Io above in the heavens, look down upon us, listen to us,

*Ka huaina te ingoa o te whare nei ko mea.*

A name is given to this house: it is So and So (mentioning name).

*Tenei nga tapu, nga mana, nga ibi o nga toki nei,*

Here are the sacred, the powerful, the sharp edges of these axes,

*Ka hoatu kia koe, kia whaka noa ia,*

We present them to you, so that you will make them noa,

*Kia whaka tabia i koe.*

And put away the tapu from them.

*Waerea, waerea, waereai runga ia Rangi e tu nei,*

Make a clearing by chopping down timber, with Rangi standing above,

*Waerea i raro ia Papa e takoto nei,*

Make a clearing and cut, with Papa the Earth beneath us,

*Waerea, i nga Maru, wehi kia tu tangatanga ua tika,*

Make a clearing of Maru the feared, who is powerful, and who has authority, and whom we fear. Stand up, straighten your back!

*Tane pepeke, Pupuke o te wao a Tane.*

Tane the quickener, Tane the enlarger of the forest.

Sung in a chorus, while beginning to cut down the tree

*Whano, whano, haramai te toki,*

Proceed, proceed, thither with the axes,

*Haumi e, Hui e, Taiki e.*

And join in, in the cutting of the rib.<sup>247</sup>

The expectation that wood can be brought to life is not unique to Maori and Roxana Waterson comments on this same principle when referring to house-posts in South East Asia, particularly Indonesia: “The frequency with which house posts are personified or become the focus of ritual attention doubtless reflects the attitude to the trees from which the posts originated in the first place. There is a pervasive idea that the timber continues to be animated, albeit in a new form.”<sup>248</sup> The mana of a completed whakairo has three dimensions. First, the living tree, the progeny of Tane, lives on in the Whare whakairo; second its mauri is enhanced by this carving process which imparts the mana of the carver; and third, the mana of the form the wood comes to represent is introduced.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid. pg 292.

<sup>248</sup> Waterson, *The Living House : An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia*. pg 118.



Tapu restrictions continued throughout the carving process. For instance, prior to regular European contact, women were kept away from carving and food was not allowed.<sup>249</sup> No doubt there were many other small tapu injunctions of which we are no longer aware. After smoking was introduced by Europeans it was also considered tapu due to its association with the mouth and with food.<sup>250</sup> Strictly speaking all of these things were actually transgressions of tapu and the things or people were actually noa (profane). However, it is clear both anecdotally and from photographs, that by the later nineteenth century many of the restrictions had been dispensed, at least under certain circumstances.<sup>251</sup> Women are certainly shown in the vicinity of some carving. Whakairo art historian, Professor Roger Neich of Auckland University makes an argument suggesting a differentiation in the minds of carvers between ‘tourist’ art and traditional forms, in which case tourist carving may not have had the same values inhered to it.<sup>252</sup> At any rate, the clear European disregard *for* tapu and the impunity *of* their violation of tapu must have diminished its powers in the eyes at least of Maori – even amongst carvers.

Traditionally, carving was carried out first using a toki, or adze (as opposed to an axe) where the rough shape of the figure would be drawn out of the wood, long before any chiselling took place. Stone of course had been the traditional material for tools or in some instances pounamu, a type of jade now commonly referred to as greenstone. New Zealand nephrite jade is found only in parts of the South Island. Its value as a commodity, not only for tools but for ornaments, such as Hei Tiki had led to well-trodden trading routes, between the more populous North, and the South. Nephrite, although incredibly strong and capable of being finely sharpened is also brittle and care was needed in its use.<sup>253</sup> When metal tools became available, they appear to have quickly replaced stone and consequently there is a dramatic change in some aspects of the vernacular of Maori whakairo.<sup>254</sup>

Amongst those changes were: modifications to style with newly easier carving; less adzework and more carving; more detailed work; possibly the wider use of apertures in the wood; less deeply hewn carving and eventually the use of European style sawn planks. (See image 48). Even the introduction of such seemingly simple apparatuses as chairs and tables, transformed the manner in which carvers worked. While previously they had crouched close to their work they now sat or stood above it.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>249</sup> Papakura and Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*. pg 294: “No woman was allowed to go near the place where the men were working on a house. She must not set foot on the site chosen for the whare to stand, as it was all under tapu, just as all the men were whether they were working on the carvings or on the building. Should a woman desecrate this tapu the whare would never be finished”. Refer also to the abandonment of the carving of the house *Rauru*, discussed elsewhere.

<sup>250</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pp 153-5.

<sup>251</sup> There are many late nineteenth century images of women watching carving.

<sup>252</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pp 154-5.

<sup>253</sup> Sinclair, *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*. pp 15-6. Also: Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*. pg 27.

<sup>254</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pp 147-9.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid. pg 160. Neich discusses this and mentions the change in viewing perspective which was delivered to the eyes of the carver.

Were the previous notions of tapu even engaged when selecting such differently formed and provided wood?

Clearly, there was a watershed in the entire approach to carving with the increased European influence. This extended beyond the physical as above, into the conceptual, as Maori carvers were influenced by a newfound awareness of European art techniques, particularly the use of perspective in art. It is not possible to say that any carver, beyond the later nineteenth century, perpetuated and maintained these old traditions, without self-reflexively removing the European elements from their repertoire. Carvers, consciously or sub-consciously, knowingly or unknowingly, were affected by at least the awareness of European ways and forms in their own art.

By the 1930s, despite the foundation of a carving school in Rotorua, the overwhelming influence of European techniques had clearly dissipated the use of the adze; and so, the whole manner in which carving was carried out had been altered.<sup>256</sup> As well, where incantations had been bound to the carving process before – sometimes chanted continuously – it must be uncertain whether they had the same spiritual force they once had. It is almost irrelevant whether they were still chanted, because it is the change in attitude, understanding and belief which had previously underlain tapu, mana and the mauri of these carvings which had been compromised. Did these carvers still believe they were vivifying their carvings with the imbued spirit of the actual ancestor? While new carvings were potent with a natural sort of tapu, simply resulting from having come from wood (sacred to Tane) and being created by a process that had been purely tapu in the past, in a differently rational, modern world they were no longer in reality living ancestors.

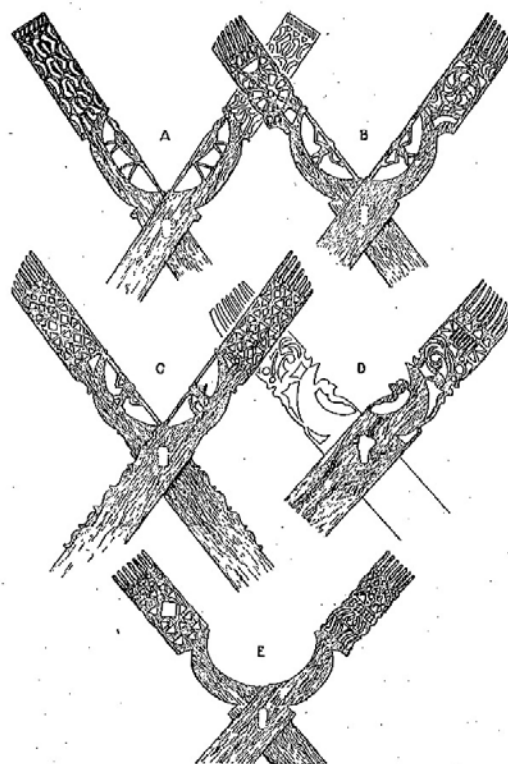
So, by the 1930s certainly, the manner of preparation, the root of the carving process had been altered and in some ways had diminished. Te Ao Maori had grown smaller. Tapu restrictions had changed, even been transformed. The act of carving had been completely modified by modern, different equipment. The understanding of the meaning of the carvings had been changed and any return to traditional forms was layered by a self-reflexive element that had not previously been present.<sup>257</sup>

Nonetheless, both in the past and today, some part at least of the carver is placed into the mauri of the created form, something beyond mere representation in a wooden object. How much that has attenuated from the past is moot, in fact may never matter at all, as even young whakairo eventually become old, and may with time transcend their origins and become full of mana. Tohunga whakairo rakau, like European artists, are intrinsically bound with their work, and may in some instances be recognised by their individual style and form. However, in Te Ao Maori they are entwined in other ways as well, as Professor GA Horridge puts it when talking about Indonesian canoes: “The effort of

---

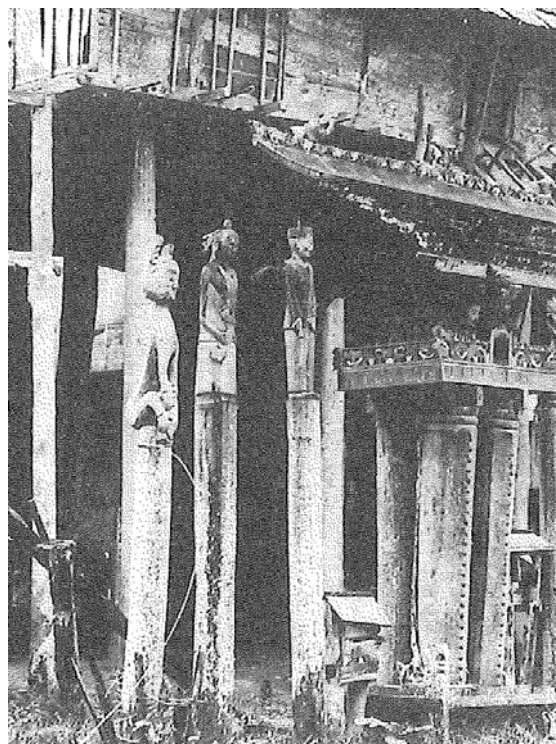
<sup>256</sup> Ibid. pg 160. This was apparently lamented by Sir Apirana Ngata.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid. pp 153-161.



49 – Raparapa and other comparisons. Photograph by the author – Tamatekapua (above left, 2006). 50, 51, 52 Above right, below left, below right, reproduced from *The Living House*, by Roxana Waterson.

Images showing gables from Japan (bottom left, Ise Jingu temple), and Indonesia (top right) compared with raparapa (top left). It is the same methodology and form, simply reproduced at different ends of the beam. The image at bottom right shows an Indonesian house with century old wooden-figures on poles (hampatong) which are clearly reminiscent of Maori tumu figures. (1937).



a craftsman in fashioning an object transfers power into his production, so that it becomes a force to be reckoned with.”<sup>258</sup> I am not mentioning Indonesian canoes by chance. As with other Austronesian houses and because Maori were a Waka or Canoe Society there is a clear relationship between those other ritual building practices and those of Maori, even today.

### Constructing the house – deconstructing the house

The whole process of construction has of course changed dramatically and entirely since the introduction of European building techniques. In essence, the modern whare is entirely a European construct, sheathed in Maori fabrics. The former house however was created using very traditional techniques and in most cases, the small whare that were the common living space could be constructed by just one or two people working together. The construction of larger houses, particularly carved Whare puni required the work and effort of numerous people, under the direction of the Tohunga whakairo. This was in part because of the detailed plan to which the house was subscribed, but also due to the considerably larger size. For instance, a house as large as that described by Banks (ten metres in length – refer to Chapter Three) would have had numerous heavy, long beams which needed to be raised.

As should be clear from earlier discussions regarding tapu and noa, the physical construction was mahi tane (men’s work), although some portions of the house, such as the woven tukutuku patterns which interspersed poupou, had possibly been created by women.<sup>259</sup> Women however were expected to remain well clear of the building site until completion, so that their noa state would neither contaminate, nor endanger the building or the success of the project.

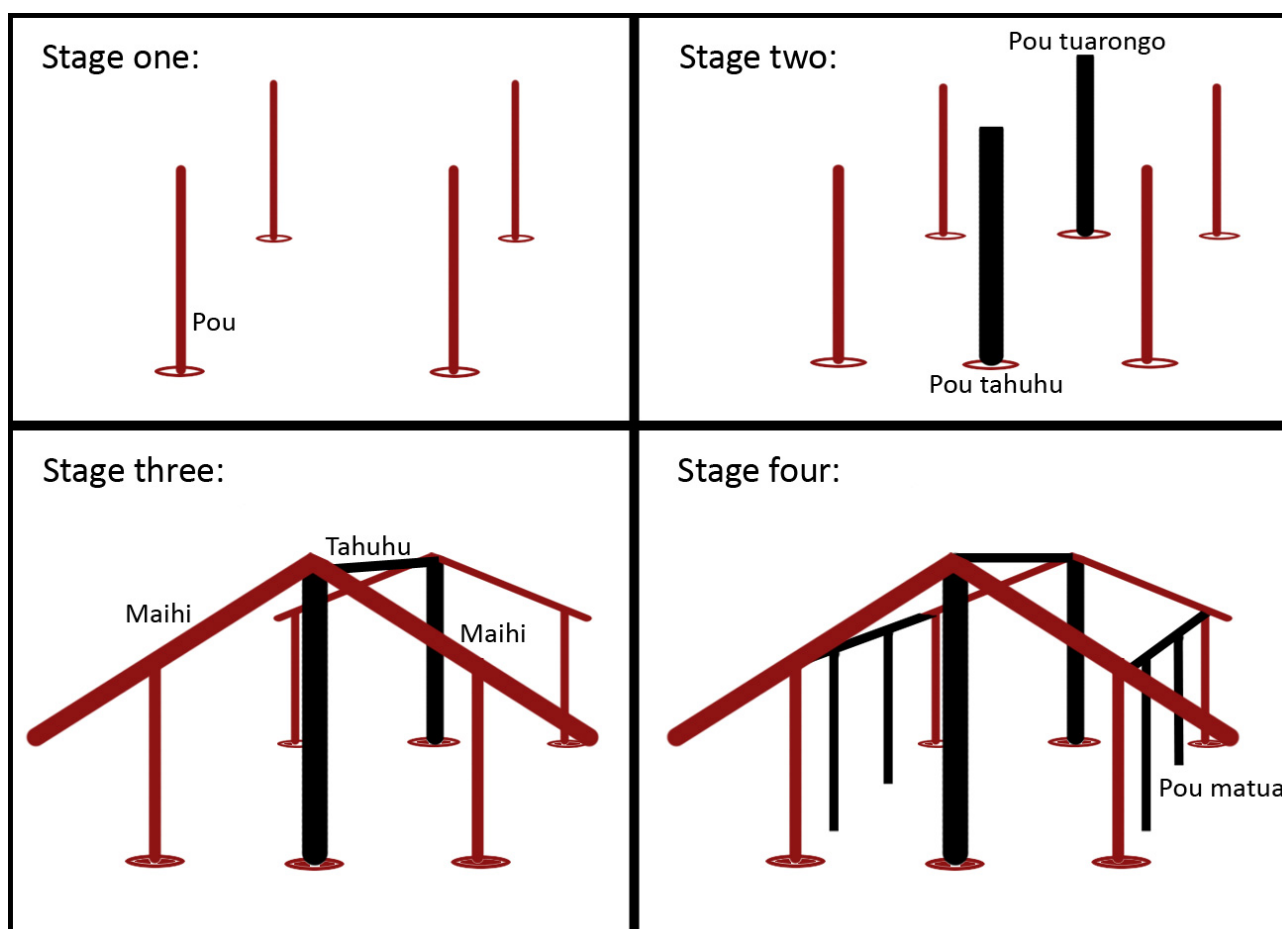
Pre-European houses consisted basically of a series of heavy pou, thrust into the ground as support posts, on which were laid long beams, so forming the shape of the sides. There were four corner posts, and large support posts, at each end, between these. Between the front and rear centre posts the long ridge board, or tahuhu was added, which in some instances was supported along its length, by ‘free-standing’ pou erected below, for instance the Pou tokomanawa, the first internal ridgepole.

At the front and rear, a peak was formed by joining two logs, attached together at the top, and connected to their support posts near their ends, but overhanging the corners, in order to eventually produce eaves. This characteristic *joining* at the top is in marked contrast to the method often used in South East Asia and for some Japanese architecture, where similar construction techniques yield beams that *crossed* at the top, which produces a distinctive ‘bulls-horns’ look at the gable of a house. In

<sup>258</sup> GA Horridge, "A Summary of Indonesian Canoe and Prahau Ceremonies," *Indonesian Circle* 39 (1986). pg 3.

<sup>259</sup> Or at least that is the case on modern houses. There is every chance that in older houses, even this work was completed by men, because of the tapu nature of whare.





52a – Construction stages of a traditional Whare whakairo.

This illustrates the basic construction stages detailed in the text. Only load-bearing posts are shown. In Stage One, the four corner Pou are pushed deep into the earth, these are sometimes described as being more significant or tapu and this may have to do with their symbolic, as well as actual structural importance.

In Stage Two, the front (Pou tahuhu) and rear (Pou tuarongo) posts are erected. These are usually wider posts, designed to carry the heavy load of the ridge-pole. In modern whare, their load-bearing nature is obviated, and they are often essentially wider, larger poupou these days.

In Stage Three, the heavy backbone, ridgepole or tahuu of the whare is laid between the front and rear posts. The eaves are added; the front eave-boards, usually heavily decorated, are known as maihi.

In Stage Four, the side walls are commenced. Support posts, known as Pou matua, are erected along the walls, with a slight interior inclination to aid their load bearing function. The poupou and the panels between them will be installed inside the Pou matua. With modern construction there is no place for Pou matua as their function is achieved by other architectural means.

those places it is preferred as a more stable arrangement and is also the point where the most ornate decoration is centred. (See figures 49-52). Although positioned at the opposite end of the eaves on Maori whare, this ornamentation is remarkably similar to the decoration used in raparapa, the pendant 'hands' at the extremity of the eave-boards. To the untrained eye, the carvings are clearly alike and this noticeable relationship is emphasised by the similar positioning on the respective houses. It is another simple sign reminding us of the ancient link between Maori and other Austronesian cultures.

Houses were often, though not always, partly subterranean, their living space sunk a little into the earth, sometimes a half metre or more, for reasons of warmth and insulation. The bases of poupou,

which were non-supporting walls in larger whare, were sunk into the earth; they were attached at their sides to spacing planks (there were always gaps to separate the poupou) and at their tops to long beams, which had been laid along the length of the building where its walls would be. Along the outside edges, support posts, known as Pou matua (support posts; parent posts) had been pushed into the earth and poupou and tukutuku panes were affixed between and on these. This of course is the same name (Pou matua) as the posts that held tumu and himu figures in the walls of pa. Perhaps there is another interrelationship that explains the linguistic convergence, as these Pou matua also supported the poupou on the inside, held them in place, in the same way that those other Pou matua held tumu figures up. The same tumu figures that I surmise had been turned inwards and brought into the interior of the whare. (See figure 52a).

All of this was accomplished without nails and usually without pegs. Support posts were notched at the top to receive transverse beams and all joins were bound together using fibre ropes. Thatch was placed round the outside, to close gaps and for warmth, and the roof was also thatched over. Floors were of compressed earth, but over these were laid woven mats many examples of which are still found in museums.

At the end of construction important ceremonies were held to remove any lingering tapu, to placate atua and help settle the whaikaro into their new home. Ritual was conducted under the direction of the constructing tohunga, and other tohunga might be called on to help. Unsurprisingly, the sanctity of the house was both ensured and enhanced by sacrifice, the victim as was discussed in an earlier chapter known as a whatu, and it is clear from early accounts that human sacrifice was quite normal. Although unlike other cultures such as in Tahiti, the victims were not necessarily interred near the house. Sacrifices as well were made from the relatively ready supply of slaves, whereas for example in Tahiti, only those suffering capital punishment for crimes became victims.

On the completion of the building, the ta-te-kawa or dedication was performed. A sacrifice of a dog, man, woman, child, or slave, was made, and the blood only presented to Mua.<sup>260</sup> The victim was killed in front of the whare, the body afterwards being buried in the wahi tapu (sacred burial place). A sacred fire and umu (sacred oven) were lighted in the whare and kept burning while the victim was being killed.<sup>261</sup>

Why were Whare whakairo so tapu? Why was there so much tapu involved in their entire construction process? The first reason was I believe the concentration of representative ancestors into a single place. As has been detailed earlier, this was something which occurred throughout the

<sup>260</sup> Referring to a god, but the word mua has special importance here, as mua has a general meaning of 'front', so the forward pole at the front of the whare is known as the Pou mua. Perhaps the blood was offered to the front of the whare.

<sup>261</sup> Papakura and Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*. pg 312.

Polynesian Pacific. Effigies in wood or stone were placed on display around or looking over an open space. These evolved over time in several cultures to become large religious complexes, the heiau, the ahu, the marae. In New Zealand that same process of concentration yielded the Whare whakairo. Ancestors were assembled, but they were further amalgamated by becoming part of the fabric of a larger entity; a whare that represented the will of a hapu, or at least that of its rangatira. Ancestors rendered representationally were deified in some way, and Maori theology had a place for the veneration of tipuna. One of the reasons Maori may have settled in and around New Zealand in the first place was the quest to become deified.

This fits exactly with the earlier explication of the House Society. The Whare whakairo holds many of the features found in such a Society: it is elaborately decorated; it is individually named; it is an important investment for the hapu; it is related to the kinship of the hapu. There is a final aspect, which is that Whare whakairo, like other such houses in House Societies are the focus of ritual in the community. The ceremonies of a whare's construction and the ritual which continues to surround it, establish, augment and perpetuate its tapu and its mana throughout its life.

So the second reason there is so much tapu to do with the Whare whakairo was the use of and power of ritual. Ceremonies were vital, and a house could certainly never be completed, occupied or used without the completion of ritual. An uncompleted house due to the breaking of tapu is discussed earlier, when referring to the whare *Rauru*, whose carvings remained uncompleted for a long time. Or also, the large house Banks saw was nearly or even fully completed, but had been abandoned, certainly for tapu reasons. Of course, at many levels the house was a living entity, not just as an ancestor represented by the house's physical self, but the tipuna within the anthropomorphic carvings such as poupou. Roxana Waterson, when discussing South East Asian houses uses the concept of the house's vitality and suggests that there were three important components. I believe that these components are essentially the same in Te Ao Maori. First, the trees from which the house is constructed commence with their own spirit or life-force, their mauri. Second, the carver/constructor, the Tohunga whakairo rakau in this case, imbues the wood with his own aura, mauri or mana, during the process of carving and construction. The third component is the ritual element in completing the house:

A third, and possibly more significant, source of a house's vitality are the ceremonies performed during its construction. Each society has developed its own set of regulations about the mode of construction and the order in which parts should be erected, as well as the appropriate ritual actions which should accompany the different stages. Thus it is that a house-building expert often combines the roles of carpenter and ritual specialist...<sup>262</sup>

<sup>262</sup> Waterson, *The Living House : An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia*. pg 121.

In Te Ao Maori there is I contend a fourth aspect – the personification of the ancestor in the wood, so the mauri from the three preceding stages is completed in the wooden resurrection of the tipuna, not just as a wooden effigy, but as a vital representation and an aperture between two worlds: Te Ao Marama and Te Po (the World of Light and the World of Dark). Marama, light in Maori, has a similar meaning in other parts of the Pacific, in Samoa for instance. Nor is it the clear cut split between light and dark alone, but the transition from the world of the gods and ancestors to the world which the living inhabit. These four aspects are what *vivify* the house and should not be confused with the infusion of mana – the house *represents* the mana of rangatira individuals and of hapu and may carry that mana into the future but that mana is not what brings the house to life.

Needless to say, blood sacrifice is no longer a part of the ceremonies when completing a house, and in fact it is possible that no extant complete standing house was finished using those rituals. *Te Hau ki Turanga*, dedicated in the 1840s might be a possible exception, due to its antiquity certainly, but frankly there is another dimension to its carvings and to its ‘sense’ which is not strictly attainable under the conventions of modern Western thought. Out of the many, many houses that I have ever visited this one in particular feels distinctly eerie to me.

Nowadays, although rituals are carried out and conform to Maori lines, they nevertheless now incorporate Christian elements and maintain only some of the details of the past. A question must then be asked as to how this has affected the completion of the house and whether houses are now diminished or lessened as a result. Are their mana and tapu less potent than they would have been in the past when more care was taken with these things and when actually there was more belief in such forces within daily life? Modern construction techniques are mundane. The construction of a modern Whare nui is much like any other European architectural project. The carvings and all other Maori features are portable and are simply draped over the bones of modern construction, and this has been the case since roughly the late nineteenth century. Some houses, such as *Tamatekapua* for instance (1876) were built like European halls or churches, while others remained more traditional in remote areas. *Ruatepupuke II*, built in 1881, clearly had an earth floor for instance, as you can see the bases of the poupou are uneven and uncarved, in order to be submerged in the earth.

## WHAKAIRO – CARVINGS

The many distinct carvings that together make up a Whare whakairo carry both their own individual meaning and, together another meaning as parts of that carved house, which is really a unified entity. These carvings can be classified or grouped in different ways, what they are used for, for instance, or by their size or what they portray. In this thesis however, I’ve broken them down by type: groups of similar carvings, which have similar significance and which represent similar things. So for example the life-sized and larger poupou which represent tipuna are discussed together, or



tekoteko, which are figureheads are treated with other more three-dimensional carvings. This section then, details what different kinds of whakairo there are in a Whare whakairo, where those carvings are found and what they mean and represent. This section is about whakairo.

### **Pare - lintels<sup>263</sup>**

The pare, or korupe, the door lintel which surmounted the doorway entrance into a whare, was of implicit importance as a dividing line between the inner and the outer spaces of the house. (See figures 53-55). Outside the house, particularly in front of a Whare whakairo was usually the marae atea, a tapu area, but of a particular kind, an open area, related to the god Tu and potentially a forum for debate.<sup>264</sup> The paepae, or barrier at the porch, has come to act as a first line of demarcation, but the pare was and remains the most important dividing point in a whare. It separated the outer from the inner, drawing a strict line between the two, both physically and metaphysically.

Inside the whare, the puku or belly, or alternatively the heart of the ancestor, was a different domain, with its own rules and forms of behaviour and its own tapu. The crossing of that threshold then required a change of state, not necessarily to tapu from less tapu or noa, or vice versa, but certainly to a different kind of tapu. However, the change of state was certainly symbolised, and in the minds of another time, made substantial and real by the use of the pare. Pare often employed representations of women, naturally noa, to dissipate tapu as you passed under, them and through the gateway into the house.<sup>265</sup>

One common figure was Hine-nui-te-Po (Great Hine of the Night), goddess of death and grandmother to the demi-god, Maui.<sup>266</sup> In legend, Maui, in trying to bring eternal life to everyone had to pass through his grandmother's vulva, but unfortunately she was awakened before he succeeded and he was crushed between her legs.<sup>267</sup> There are innumerable women mentioned in Maori legends and while Hine-nui-te-Po is amongst the more potent figures, her choice points to the power of the transition between the inner and the outer places here; what greater state of transition is there than life to death, in any culture? Another common figure on pare was Papatuanuku, the earth-goddess, the mother of many of the best known gods.

<sup>263</sup> Sometimes also: korupe or kororupe.

<sup>264</sup> Not in all traditions perhaps, but the relationship between the marae atea and the whare is discussed elsewhere; in a number of traditions the marae is related to the god Tu and the whare to other gods, for example Tane. See for example: Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 49.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid. pg 46.

<sup>266</sup> The name Hine itself, is clearly related to numerous Maori word variants for women, most particularly wahine, or woman.

<sup>267</sup> This can be related to the story of Maui being asked to stand on the top of her house that was detailed earlier. (See Chapter Two – Te Whare Whakaohonga – The Awakening House) Also: “by you shall hereafter be climbed the threshold of the house of your great ancestor Hine-nui-te-po, and death shall henceforth have no power over man”. Grey and Bird, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the Maori as Told by Their Priests and Chiefs*. pg 19. The image of this event was actually portrayed on occasion by carvers, most famously by Tene Waitere who carved the scene at least twice in a semi-perspectival manner.



53, 54, 55 – Photographs by the author – Three pare.

Three pare, from the Whare whakairo, Top: *Hotunui*, Centre: *Tamatekapua* (Ohinemutu, Rotorua) and Bottom: *Te Whare Runanga* (Waitangi) Both of the top two pare display the characteristic features representing Te Ao Marama, central takarangi spirals and three figures of gods. The pare at the bottom is most likely Te Po, with Papa (note her vagina) in the centre and multiple figures surrounding her.

Similarly, when a house was completed, it was a woman who would first enter the house to dispel any residual tapu and ensure both the safety of others and that tapu was not broken. The female vulva and women in general are deemed noa, and so are able to dissipate tapu. Food was of course also noa. As Makereti Papakura explained it:

a woman was careful never to go near the place until after the whai kawa (opening ceremony), when the tapu was removed. During this ceremony the whare was made noa by a woman who entered

the building through the pihanga (window) with cooked food, and ate some of it inside the whare before coming out of the kuaha (door).<sup>268</sup>

Pihanga and matapihi are both words for window. Makareti Papakura, uses several dialectic variants in her descriptions of whare, of which pihanga is one. She also uses the phrase Poutauhu i te tungaroa instead of Pou tuarongo and the phrase Poutauhu i te roro for Pou tahuhu. Part of this is just variant spelling, Poutauhu instead of say Poutahuhu; some part is pronunciation. A last part is of course a genuine use of alternate names.

There were other injunctions within whare besides that against eating and these included in later days (after continued contact with Europeans), abstention from smoking (which is linked in principle to eating), and the removal of footwear. While the removal of shoes was likely a simple reaction to their destruction of woven mats in whare, this removal has in most places become customary. So, in the minds of many visitors to marae – and this includes *every* house on display in a museum – the stricture of shoe removal is linked directly to the crossing of the pare threshold. This is analogous to the removal of shoes required when entering mosques, in that case as a sign of respect and humility. Visitors removing shoes before entering a whare likely make similar assumptions regarding Maori beliefs and indeed for many Maori that assumption is probably correct.

The paepae in a whare is the small board which must be stepped over in order to enter the mahau (porch). Interestingly, many early images of houses do not show a paepae bordering the porch of even the larger whare, nor do early descriptions mention them. Paepae in this instance means a low barrier, fence or wall and in fact has a similar meaning in other Polynesian languages; as well, in the Marquesas it meant a stone platform and in Tahiti a pae was a stone step on a marae pyramid.<sup>269</sup> The porch area is described in early European descriptions in use as a workspace and the implication is it was unimpeded for ease of access. The paepae of a whare is nowadays another ritual barrier point, and is important as a dividing point during mihi. It may however actually have arisen as a barrier to livestock, as herd animals, most particularly the pig, became common after their initial introduction by Europeans. This paepae should not be confused with the area where speakers sit, stand and orate during a hui, although the name for this has also come from the idea of a ritual barrier.

To return strictly to the pare, anthropologist David Simmons argues that there are three main (or possibly *only*) themes to all lintels, this argument is based on some principles of Maori ‘theology’ which may be summarised perhaps as a belief in different realms of existence.<sup>270</sup> These realms are: Te Kore, Te Po and Te Ao Marama, or respectively, the time before existence, the time of the (older)

<sup>268</sup> Papakura and Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*. pg 294. Kuaha is a dialectic spelling – another, more common form is kuwaha, which has been mentioned before and which as well as meaning *door*, means *mouth*.

<sup>269</sup> Elsdon Best, *The Maori as He Was : A Brief Account of Maori Life as It Was in Pre-European Days* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1934). pg 291.

<sup>270</sup> D. R. Simmons, *The Carved Pare : A Maori Mirror of the Universe* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers, 2001). pp 9-33.

gods Ranginui and Papatuanuku and lastly this world and the human state of existence. It is not within the bounds of this thesis to discuss the finer details of pre-European, Maori belief systems, but some of the symbology of each of these three states is clearly definable and relates directly to the subject matter of individual pare. If anything, because it is reasonably easy to follow, the symbology of the pare is potentially more accessible to lay-people than the symbology of most other Maori carved figures.

The three realms of existence might be perceived as three concentric spheres, the smallest nestled inside the middle sized sphere and both nestled in the greatest sphere. That largest encompassing sphere is Te Kore, the world before form, a time without light and inhabited by only older gods, such as the earth mother Papa and the sky father Rangi. Within, and surrounded by Te Kore, is the next realm, that of Te Po, the night or the darkness, a place which is (now) inhabited by Rangi and Papa's children, gods such as Rongo, Tu, Tawhirimatea and Tane. There is another layer of complexity, as this nestling of spheres also implies the passing of time. During the final stages of this time, the children of Rangi and Papa strive to drive them apart and light enters the world. Within the sphere of Te Po is the final sphere, Te Ao Marama, the world of light, our realm of existence. In Te Ao Marama may be found light, knowledge and humans, demi-gods, plants, animals, fish and all the other spirits and living things which surround us.<sup>271</sup>

Although the mythology of and belief systems of pre-contact Maori are complicated and complex, they are represented, in carved forms at least, by often straightforward symbology. That symbology is concentrated in two modes on pare, the use, or not, of spirals and the number and use of anthropomorphic figures. Spirals, often of the style known as takarangi, help define which state of existence is being referred to, so an absence of spirals represents the formlessness of the first realm of existence, Te Kore. A single spiral or the use of cusps (the starting point of spirals) might suggest that the world of the gods, Te Po, the second state of existence, has been formed. Two spirals usually represent the complete transition to this world, our world, Te Ao Marama. This could also explain the use of takarangi spirals which here allow light to pass through them and obviously imply the breaking of light, dawn.

The number and use of figures serves a similar defining function to the number of spirals. A single figure, often Papa (often pregnant) represents Te Kore, the state of existence before the (younger) gods such as Tu, Tane and Tangaroa had been born. Two figures, often representing Rangi and Papa, show that Te Po, the world of the gods, has been formed or this may also be represented by showing numerous figures; notionally Rangi, Papa and their offspring. Three figures however symbolise Te Ao Marama, their arms are usually held up and between them are two (takarangi) spirals, the figures actually represent Tane, Tu and Tangaroa thrusting the gods (their parents) Rangi

---

<sup>271</sup> Simmons, *The Maori Meeting House = Te Whare Runanga*. pp 41-7.



and Papa apart and allowing light and knowledge (the spirals) to enter the world. There are sub-themes as well, but these will not be discussed here.

### Poupou

In any Whare whakairo the majority of carvings are poupou. (See figures 58 and 59). These anthropomorphic figures, often life-sized or even larger, stand along the inside walls of the whare and along the side-walls of the porch. Each poupou contains at least one figure and often more than one that are portrayed facing front-on, with legs slightly apart and arms at the side or sometimes across the front of the body. The figures are anthropomorphic with characteristically oversized faces/heads but fairly proportionate bodies, arms and legs. Professor Hirini Moko Mead, the art historian and also himself a carver, makes these proportions explicit when discussing the actual process of

carving: one third of the figure for the legs, one third for the torso and the remaining third for the head.<sup>272</sup> Fractally, the head may then be subdivided by thirds, one third for the brow, one third for the eyes and one third for the mouth. Poupou are separated by uncarved panels, sometimes plain, but often decorated with tukutuku, or woven patterns.

Eyes are emphasised further by the use of paua shell (haliotis) inserts. These glisten in the cool interior darkness, and may have helped *vivify* these ancestors, somewhat like the eyes of moai may have brought those huge ancestor statues to life in distant Rapanui.<sup>273</sup> I think it is worth noting that Hei tiki were also given paua eye inserts, likely for the same reasons, not just as a decorative affectation.



56 & 57 – Photographs by the author – Poupou - *Te Wharepuni a Maui*, Linden Museum (left, Stuttgart, 2006) and *Te Whare Runanga* (right, Waitangi, 2007).

These images of poupou show a number of characteristic features: Paua inserts for the eyes; regional (dialectic) variation in the carving, particularly the sinuous 'northern' style on the right; the introduction of European perspective and form into some carving (left); the use of features to elaborate who the subject is (left: Maui emerging from the tara (vagina) of Hine-nui-te-Po; lastly, note the small figures at the base of the poupou on the left and the use of one figure above the other in the poupou on the right.

<sup>272</sup> Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*.

<sup>273</sup> Jared M. Diamond, *Collapse : How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (New York: Viking, 2005). pg 103.

Other figures, when included, may be found in diminutive form between or beneath the legs of the upper figure for example, or on taller poupou one above the other. As a convention, the ancestor at the bottom is often the descendant of the one above, so for example, a diminutive or lesser figure, found beneath the legs of the main figure may be a son (refer to images). Some poupou, at the ends of houses, are even more seemingly totemic. With greater height they may include several figures one above the other; these posts are termed epa.

As well as being the physical manifestation in general of tipuna or atua, poupou usually went a step further and were in some way directly related to a particular ancestral or godly individual. As a class or group of carving poupou demonstrate very regular traits. Within the conventions of that carving however was lee-way, often significant, to individualise and to add representational nuance. Roger Neich suggests that the conventions and forms could be used as reasons to reject works which did not confirm sufficiently.<sup>274</sup>

So, a poupou would follow the general plan outlined earlier, each one roughly the same size and proportions as those around it, while following other broad rules such as the use of three toes, three fingers and generally contorted faces. These often emulate the pukana, frightening facial gestures used for emphasis during the haka. Hirini Mead asserts that there may be as few as two fingers (on manaia) and as many as five. He also explains that there is no authoritative explanation for the prevalence of three fingered carvings although the most common reason is to do with a three fingered carver.<sup>275</sup> The answer, I suggest, may be as seemingly mundane as the reason most modern animated characters only have three fingers (and a thumb); it just fits better. These were artistic conventions, but ossified by their immersion in the tapu world of the carver. Such conventions were however modified within regional variations in style, so that clear distinctions can be discerned between the carving dialect of say Te Tai Tokerau (Northland) and Te Tai Rawhiti (East Coast).<sup>276</sup> So, from a fundamentally art-historical stance, figures can be identified within regional traditions, and with moderate certainty can also be attributed within distinct time-frames.

These regional variations centred on aspects of the figures, from the shape of the body – Te Tai Tokerau carvings often have sinuous bodies for example – to face shapes, eye-shapes or the use or non-use of teeth in mouths. So while these modifications were in some ways obvious they were nevertheless not challenges to the conventions of form that typified the poupou.

Each figure however was finally a microcosm of the individual represented and numerous conventions were expressed and combined in order to elaborate this. Figures were tattooed in semblance of real people, were armed, or were given attributes which represented their story. Or in particular cases, represented the actual moko of the tipuna shown. Anne Salmond for instance alludes

<sup>274</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pg 274.

<sup>275</sup> Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*. pp 242-4.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid. pg 29.



58 & 59 – Photographs by the author – Poupou.

These are composite photographs of top: *Ruatepupuke II* (left hand wall) and bottom: *Hotunui* (right hand wall) showing all the poupou. The styles of the carvings are markedly different, those of *Hotunui* are obviously much broader and in fact deeper as well, while those of *Ruatepupuke* are shallow, and appear to have been carved from milled plank wood. As well, note the significant space below the carving in *Ruatepupuke*, which shows that the walls were carved with the intention that their bases would be submerged into the earth.

Closer inspection would also show dialectic variation in the manner of carving and most likely the subject matter (different ancestors). Lastly, note the uniformity of the tukutuku patterns at the top, in comparison to the variation below. Those at the top were commissioned specifically for a relatively recent refurbishment.



to this.<sup>277</sup> So Tama-te-kapua (of Te Arawa) might be shown using stilts, or Kahungunu (of Ngati Kahungunu) might be shown with a dragging penis, attributes which in each case related elements of stories linked to them in legends. Both of these are well-known stories. (Refer to figure 56 for some examples of metonymic features used in carvings). As a general rule, the bodies of poupou were decorated with patterns, which while roughly analogous to moko (tattoo) were in actual fact regular patterns that followed carving convention. The famous carver Anaha te Rahui carved a set of sixteen patterns for the early twentieth century director of the Dominion Museum, Augustus Hamilton.<sup>278</sup> They provide an excellent opportunity to see the patterns isolated, not so much out of context but in a way that demonstrates their particular forms. Of these, fifteen survive, the last having been rejected by Hamilton.<sup>279</sup> Ten of these templates are patterns while the remainder are figures. While these are not every pattern in the repertoire of every carver, they do however represent the great majority in common use.

Each pattern has a specific name and presumably at its origin each pattern represented a very specific meaning. Some of those meanings might have been retained, others lost or modified and current knowledge, I believe, is some melange of these three possible histories. So for instance, the pattern known as waha-rua (waha-mouth, rua-two) or double mouth, a double pyramid shape one facing up, one facing down, may represent an actual mouth. Or takarangi, to stagger, which Hirini Mead suggests may have been the effect one felt when looking at this spiral, which is often pierced, allowing glimpses through the carving.<sup>280</sup> The complete list is:<sup>281</sup>

Maui – the spiral of Maui;

Whakaironui – the great carving;

Pikorauru – the spiral of Rauru. Carved or tattooed on cheeks or shoulders;

Rauponga – the fern leaf;

Kaponga or tree-fern leaf;

Whakatara – concealed spiral;

Takarangi – encircled glimpses of the sky;

He Rauru – the mixed spiral;

Unahi – fish-scale pattern;

Waharua – double mouth;

Weku – Stingaree. One of the gods of carving;

Ngututahi – one-lipped god;

<sup>277</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 40.

<sup>278</sup> Augustus Hamilton, 1853-1913, English born ethnologist, Director of the Colonial (later Dominion) Museum in Wellington from 1903-1913. At least partially self-proclaimed expert in Maori arts.

<sup>279</sup> There is however at least one surviving photograph, replicated in: Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pg 227.

<sup>280</sup> Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*. pg 170.

<sup>281</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pg 228.



Manaia;

Ruru – morepork, the native owl;

Koruru – owl; Torea – gull.

Whether these meanings were the original intent of the original creator is now moot; we have no actual reliable history of their creation. What is certain is that they came to have these various meanings and that today at least, with the ossification that occurs over time, these are now the meanings given to these shapes and patterns. Roger Neich makes a point that although “regarded as the basic vocabulary of Rotorua carving designs ... their authenticity and authority as representative design samples have been sadly confused by the inadequacies of their interpreters.”<sup>282</sup> Nevertheless, they stand perfectly as the isolation of patterns that are the basis for much Maori carving and represent clearly the European ideal of: *ideas distilled into essence*, or seemingly abstract patterns actually having specific meanings. These meanings and the symbolism of these patterns in Te Ao Maori were closely inter-linked with a more ritual and deeper meaning, rising out of the carvers’ minds and moulded by them in the wood.

Typically the carved bodies of poupou are decorated with any of, or a mix of, these patterns, notched straight patterns usually on the flat surfaces of the body and spiral patterns on the joints, particularly on the shoulder and thigh. Such a broad palette of patterns meant that figures could be heavily decorated but with variation between each figure. The variations decided by the Tohunga whakairo rakau, no doubt for reasons of aesthetics, to demonstrate skill and of course to differentiate between poupou, making clear that each one represented a distinct ancestral figure. On a first level then the use of templates like those basic patterns demonstrated by Anaha te Rahui was an artistic convention, part of the culture of learning which was passed between carvers. As well, at an artistic level, such decorations ensured a continuity between pieces and fitted within the norms and conventions of an art-form with clear antecedents all around. Unlike say the paintings of Western art, created by a few specific artists often for specific patrons, many people in Maori society carved – although few were expert specialists – and many or even most houses had some small item of carving.

Te Rahui also carved and listed five facial forms, three showing faces from the front and two in profile, the profile forms are what are known as manaia.<sup>283</sup> Manaia are distinctive in a number of ways. In the first instance they are often used on physically thinner panels or those which are used at the corners of building interiors. As well, they are more common in epa, while not occurring in regular poupou, which are shown face on. However, they have attributes and an appearance that

<sup>282</sup> Ibid. pp 227-8.

<sup>283</sup> Originally there were six, the last was that rejected by Hamilton and is lost to us, at least in the original (see above about the surviving photograph) – Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*. pg 168.

separates them entirely from the regular carved face. Their lips and mouths may appear beak-like and so they may be related in some art historical sense at least to the bird images common elsewhere in the Pacific, both in Polynesian and Melanesian mythology. (See for instance figure 61, right-side). At another cultural level there are common stories of bird-people in Maori legends, not perhaps unexpected in a land peopled originally by birds and fundamentally empty of other animals before our arrival. For example the Te Arawa legend of Hatupatu and the bird-woman (a large rock relating to this story can be seen to this day), or the stories relating to Tane and talking birds, or Maui and talking birds. Lastly, the design of the manaia while being representational of the face in profile is clearly, at least in many forms, actually one half of a front-viewed face. If mirrored, these manaia would form an entire face, so the representation, which must have been obvious to the carver, had another nuance not noted by casual viewers.

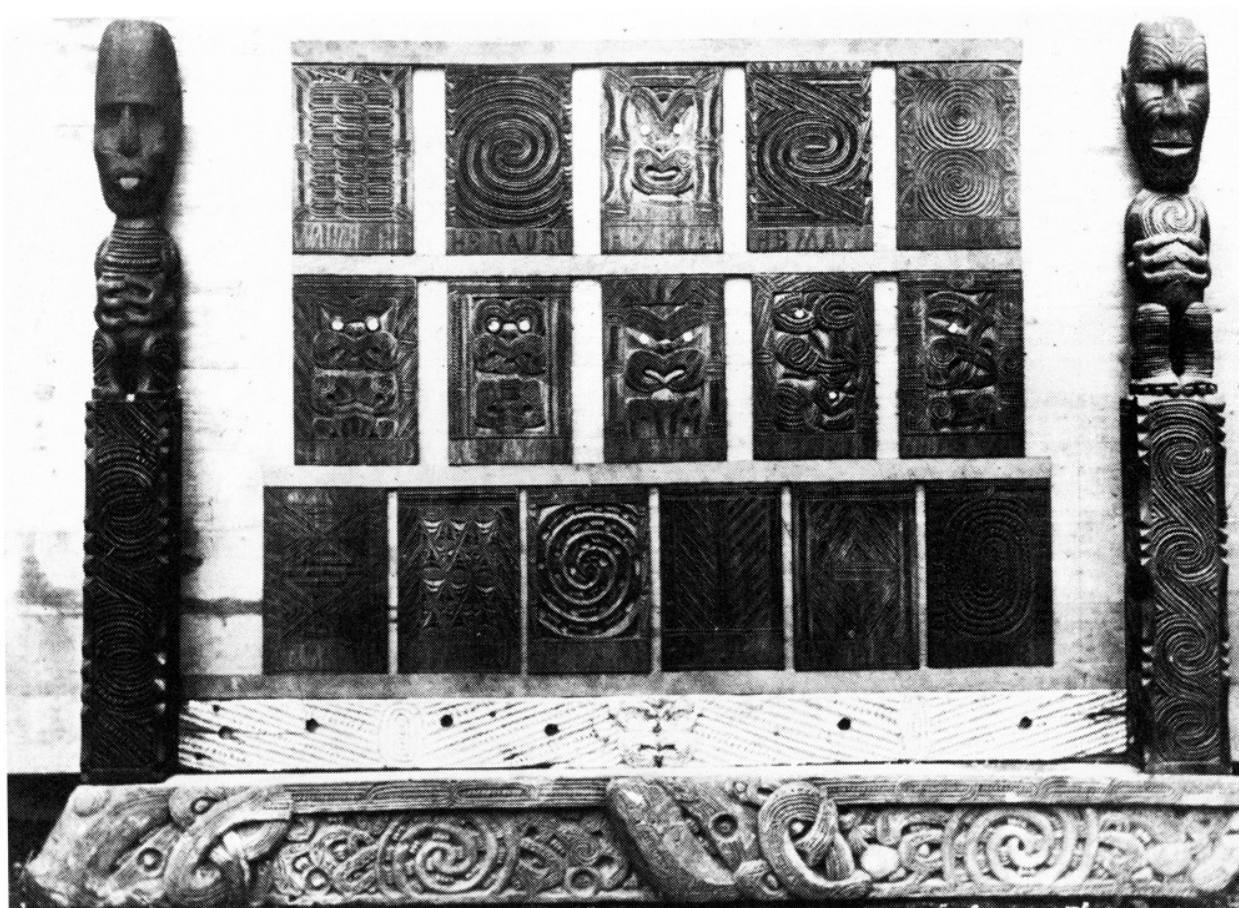
There was also the means for independent expression beyond the regularity and ritual of face and form derived from set patterns. Specifically, carvers could personally vary aspects of a carving, while nevertheless maintaining a basis in their regional style and the more generic roots of all Maori carving. Poupou represented specific ancestors, or specific demi-gods, which could of course be one and the same, and who were alluded to in various forms, some of them dependent on change in the langue.<sup>284</sup> While mnemonic devices were often employed such as the stilts discussed above, in some instances the carved faces replicated or referenced the actual moko of individuals. Another such may have been the positioning of ancestors in some houses according to their genealogical relationships. This however was more clear or more visible on the three dimensional figures used on central support posts. Female figures – where they existed – could also be easily separated from male ancestors as the faces would be only partially covered in moko, if at all. While the male moko would eventually cover the entire face, given enough time, the female moko was generally confined to the lips and the area below the mouth. Once Maori had become literate, names were also carved or painted onto poupou, to help distinguish individuals.

As well, poupou and other carved figures typically have their hands placed in specific positions, with specific meanings and these may be elaborated by the addition of weapons, or other tools and implements. For instance as an identifier, carvings of the tipuna Whaene show him carrying a fish; and carvings of Kahungunu may hold paua in the hands.<sup>285</sup> These are personal and specific to individuals and allow immediate attribution and identification.

Less specifically, weapons such as the taiaha (long staff) and patu or mere (hand clubs) are shown in many hands while some poupou even hold rifles. There are actually many Maori hand weapons, with differing characteristics, and each with different names, but I am using the term taiaha as a

<sup>284</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pp 40-1.

<sup>285</sup> Mead, *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*. pg 24. From a legend where he slapped his father and brother (Kahungunu and Tamatea respectively) with a fish. And pg 249, Kahungunu was a renowned diver.



60 & 61 – Anaha te Rahui's patterns.

The image at the top shows all the patterns, including the now missing one (another face). The bottom image shows three of the patterns up close. That on the far right is a manaia. Refer to the endnotes for this chapter for the complete list of all the pattern's names.

general sort of form, a long fighting staff, and likewise patu or mere for hand clubs. Hands may be placed on hips, or across the stomach or even upraised for instance and such inclinations have specific meanings in a carver's language; for instance, a ritual pose like this can imply the haka, or emphasise the penis, implying fertility. Over the course of the nineteenth century at least, the preference as to which weapons were more frequently carved changed, with patu and taiaha exchanging popularity over time.<sup>286</sup> Of course, we firstly have little evidence before this time because of attrition of carvings and secondarily, carving of houses with large carved poupou also flourished in this period. Possibly this was just fashion, or perhaps it was the result of the change in warfare brought about by the introduction of European weapons.

Other common items represented in the hand were various toki: axes and adzes. These, in another depictional convention are always shown in a mixed three-dimensionality, the blade portrayed flat as though seen from above, while nevertheless being held in profile. Chieftainly characteristics of all kinds are represented in symbolic ways. The ideology of war is found in weapons, but so are the attributes required by rangatira in times of peace – the skills of cultivation (adzes, used as digging/cutting tools) and artistic and cultural endeavour.

There are two well-known sources regarding the talents and skills required by chiefs. Those are Te Rangikaheke of Ngati Rangiwewehi (Te Arawa), writing in the 1850s and Himiona Tikitu of Ngati Awa, dating from the 1890s.

Elsdon Best, based on information provided by Tikitu refers to the Maori saying, “E waru nga pu manawa” which means the Eight (special) Talents.<sup>287</sup> Pumanawa: this is an interesting compound word. Pumanawa means a natural skill or talent, but the base word is manawa, another word for heart. There were eight – which is a significant number – puaha or puareare (openings) of the heart, or skills of chieftainship. These are natural talents, ones which you are born with as a member of a rangatira descent line, or as another Maori proverb has it: “he mea hanga ki roto ki te kopu o te whaea”, made in the mother's womb.<sup>288</sup> The lower born however only carried four talents, at least according to Tikitu; so clearly it was far more difficult for them to fulfil the requirements and obligations of chieftainship. Te Rangikaheke emphasises this notion another way, saying: “Na te moenga rangatira ena mea” or, it comes from the marriage-bed of chiefs.<sup>289</sup> This meant that, strictly speaking, the skills of chieftainship could only come to those born to chiefly rank.

<sup>286</sup> Discussed more fully as a concept in Neich, *Carved Histories*.

<sup>287</sup> Best, Polynesian Society (N.Z.), and Polynesian Society. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Lore of the Whare-Kohanga, Vol. XVI. No. 1, (Auckland, N.Z.: The Society, 1907). Also: Best, Polynesian Society (N.Z.), and Polynesian Society. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Omens and superstitious beliefs of the Maori, Vol. VII. No.1 and No.3, (Auckland, N.Z.: The Society, 1898) and also: Best, Polynesian Society (N.Z.), and Polynesian Society. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Spiritual Concepts of the Maori, Vol. X. No.1, (Auckland, N.Z.: The Society, 1901).

<sup>288</sup> González-Ruibal, "House Societies Vs. Kinship-Based Societies: An Archaeological Case from Iron Age Europe."

<sup>289</sup> Te Tikanga o tenei mea te rangatiratanga o te tangata Maori = The customs of leadership in Maori Society, Te Rangikaheke, 1850. (Presented to George Grey).

The eight innate talents were of course important skills, and many relate directly to the marae, to whare, to whakairo, and as was mentioned earlier, were represented metonymously in carvings. Te Rangikaheke's list from 1850 consists of the following pumanawa (talents):

1. He toa: bravery, courage in war
2. Korero taua: war speeches
3. Mahi kai: gathering food
4. Tangohanga: feasts of celebration
5. Pupuri pahi: keeping guests from leaving
6. Korero Runanga: council speeches
7. Korero manuhiri: welcoming guests
8. Atawhai pahi, iti, rahi: showing courtesy to all guests, important or not

This list is extremely important when referring to ritual on the marae. This will become more obvious in the next chapter, which deals specifically with hui, powhiri and other ceremony, however, seven of the eight skills listed by Te Rangikaheke relate directly to ritual on marae, the only exception being number three, Mahi kai, gathering food. This clearly shows the importance of the marae, and the ritual involved. Himiona Tikitu's list from 1897 was similar, but included other aspects:

1. He kaha ki te mahi kai: superior at gathering food
2. He kaha ki te whakahaere i nga raruraru: superior in solving problems; in mediating disputes
3. He toa: bravery, courage in war
4. He kaha ki te whakahaere i te riri: superior in combat leadership
5. He mohio ki te whakairo: expert skill in wood-carving (and other arts)
6. He atawhai tangata: generosity
7. He mohio ki te hanga whare rimu, waka ranei: expert skills in constructing houses and canoes
8. He mohio ki nga rohe whenua: understanding of the boundaries of tribal lands

Himiona Tikitu's list has a clearly different and broader orientation. Two of the attributes, respectively those of wood-carving and construction emphasise the aristocratic nature of those skills and re-affirm the likelihood that they were maintained within rangatira lines. Kept within an elite, for reasons of control, for mana and to maintain their cult nature; at the highest level anyway. Both lists however include skills that were important to Maori survival and so were emphasised as chieftainly attributes in whakairo, particularly on poupou. The aspects of bravery, skill in cultivating food, leadership in war, ability in the arts and whaikorero (oratory) were all seen to be innate to the highly-born and were all used in representation to display the many aspects of quality demanded of Maori

leaders. Rangatira were faced with high expectations and their mana could seldom rest on its own laurels, especially if they were to become deified ancestors and someday be portrayed in Whare whakairo themselves.<sup>290</sup> Now, it is common practise for revered tipuna of recent generations to have their photographs added to the walls of whare, after their death. They can certainly be recognised as a form of pseudo-poupou and so militate, in another melange of Maori and European culture, against more Christian beliefs.

Lastly, the artistic traditions of the West, in their general treatment of and long history of art, by the introduction of European carving technology and by the advent of European patronage, all had clear effects on the manner in which poupou were produced.

In the earliest stages of contact, the use of metal modified the ability of the carver to work the wood, making it both simpler and easier to carve. Indeed, from Cook's first voyage onwards, metal had already been appropriated by Maori carvers to modify their work. It seems certain from references in Cook, that nails were being used in this manner immediately. He mentions the following for instance in his journal entry for 9<sup>th</sup> February 1770:

they were no sooner on board than they asked for nails but when nails were given them they asked Tupia what they were which was plain that they had never seen any before ... and therefore must have heard of nails which they call Whow the name of a tool among them made generally of bone which they use as a chisel [The Maori for chisel is: whao]<sup>291</sup>

The inference is clear that other Maori had made use of nails and that word of mouth had outlined those same uses. As Cook readily mentions, these people were 45 leagues from his nearest contact with other Maori – the importance and interest in metal must have been obvious to all parties. Later, the introduction of sawn wood transformed the working surface, from thick, often curved portions of totara logs, to worked, heavy planks of wood, with considerably less depth than had often been the case before. For example, comparison between *Te Hau ki Turanga* and (for example) *Ruategupuke II*, both from the same regional tradition, shows an enormous difference in the wood used for the poupou. There are a number, or at least several, comparable houses I could have referred to, all from the same region and same rough period (second half of the nineteenth century), for example *Porourangi*, Apirana Ngata's ancestral Whare whakairo. These two were specifically chosen as they form a major part of the discussions in this thesis. So, as can be plainly seen even in images, the carvings of *Te Hau ki Turanga* are broad, very deep and three-dimensional and thickly decorated while those of *Ruategupuke* are plank-sized, very shallow and very flat. This is one certain example of how the vernacular could be entirely modified by the influence of European technology. In the

<sup>290</sup> For a more complete discussion on the leadership in Maori Society, refer to, Mead (2005): <http://www.huitaumat.maori.nz/pdf/leadershipingovernance.pdf>

<sup>291</sup> Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1770.



former whare, *Te Hau ki Turanga* it can be perceived as an enabling technology, used to help carve the thick logs once they had been adzed, also with metal tools. (See figure 63). In the latter house, *Ruatepupuke*, possibly to aid the speed of creation, a certain uniformity is imposed by what appears to be milled wood selected for use as poupou and there is a loss of depth and dimensionality. (See figure 62).

European patronage and art traditions affected the subject matter for some carvings and more importantly introduced a whole different way of perceiving Maori art, especially within the minds of the artists. Experimental changes are clear in the work of Tene Waitere, the nineteenth and early twentieth century Ngati Tarawhai (Te Arawa) master-carver, in particular and from his time after, the rejection of carvings by referring to breaches of tapu because of non-conformity ceased. Waitere was experimenting with

perspective and other aspects of European art during the last quarter of the nineteenth century this can be clearly seen in some of the images of his work shown here, specifically images from the two whare *Rauru* and *Te Wharepuni a Maui*. In his works we see the use of dramatic perspective and the introduction of three dimensionality in a different manner than previously practised within the whakairo artistic tradition. While three-dimensional faces may be seen in several portions of the whare (tekoteko, Pou tokomanawa), his were used in poupou, and some of them were also rotated in a semblance of European artistic mannerisms. (Refer to images 56 and 57).

Nevertheless, changes like this broadened the repertoire of the carver, and were revolutionary in their acceptance, some part of which was the different level of tolerance and expectation that resulted from European patronage. The roots of carving however continued and with few exceptions – Cliff Whiting's sculpted carvings for example – the common vernacular of the carved building remains the



62 & 63 – Photographs by the author – *Ruatepupuke II* (above, Field Museum, Chicago, 2004) and *Te Hau ki Turanga* (below, Te Papa, Wellington, 2004).

Although built in the same generation, and from the same carving tradition (East Coast), nevertheless the gulf between the form of these complete poupou is clearly evident and in part demonstrates the effect of milled wood on Maori carving.





same today as one hundred or one hundred and fifty years ago, by which time European building techniques had become the common basis for Maori meeting houses. The final transition was discussed earlier in the section on Sir Apirana Ngata's influence on the modern marae. Figures, that represent ancestors are hewn out of machine processed wood panels, are carved with metal tools, but use the patterns and traditions of Maori whakairo practises; a genuine melange of the two cultural idioms. The other side of the coin of course is the mannerist adherence to old forms. There are certainly new versions, particularly those of non-traditional carver Cliff Whiting, but most Maori art of the Whare whakairo is a deliberate recreation of traditional forms and styles.



64 – Photograph by the author – Epa (*Rauru*, 2006).

This interior photograph, shows the front of the house and some of the epa at that end. Note the manaia figure on the left hand side; the marakihau (sea monster) with its curling tail on the second figure and lastly, the use of multiple figures one above the other.

### Epa and Amo

Much like poupou, epa are relatively flat anthropomorphic figures, relief images, showing faces and bodies viewed from the front. Where they differ is in their more distinctly totemic treatment, the result really of their physical position in the layout of a typical whare – epa are found at the front and rear walls. Because of their position, although some epa (the ones closest to the side walls) are about the same height as a whare's poupou, most are taller, of varying heights, increasing as the roof slopes upwards to the centre. Thus, although they portray often the same or similar material as poupou, they may show several ancestors one above the other, or may show other beings entirely, marakihau and taniwha for instance (sea-monsters, land-monsters).

Amo, are technically the support posts for the eaves, one on each side at the front of the whare. These often protrude above the line of the eaves and of course, these days, serve no genuine architectural purpose and are certainly non-supportive. Traditionally however, one of their representational, non-decorative functions was to symbolise the link and the relationship of Rangi and Papa, the gods of the earth and the sky. So, they commence in the earth and reach up, into the sky.

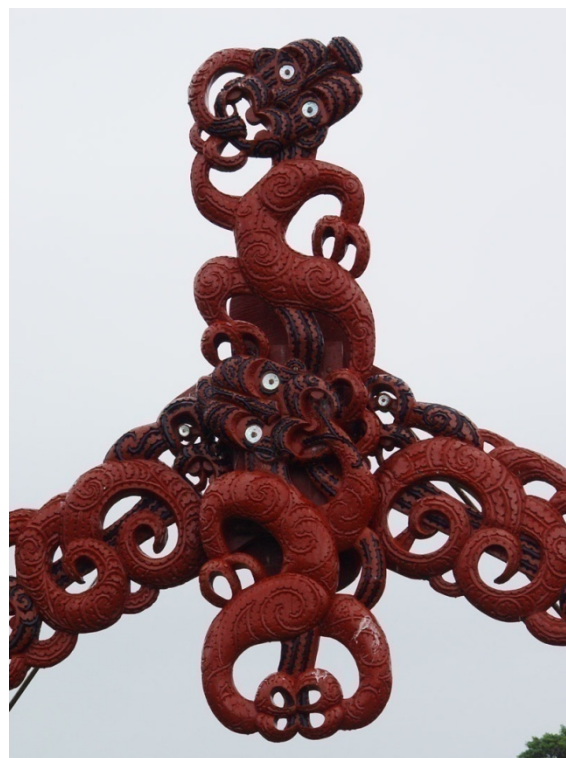
**Tekoteko, Pou tahuhu, Pou tokomanawa, Pou tuarongo – figures carved in the round**

With its spectacular exposure in the movie *Whale Rider*, it is not a human figure – the standard subject matter of tekoteko – but a whale and (less obviously) the eponymous rider which is now the most famous of these figures. Tekoteko are smaller than life-sized, three dimensional anthropomorphic figures, situated above the front gable of whare; they often represent an eponymous ancestor. Nor are tekoteko figures limited to this single position; similar figures are often found at the base of the various central support posts that run the length of the typical large Whare whakairo. Sometimes they are intriguingly part way up the post. An example of this can be seen in the reference image for the interior of whare (figure 47c). There may in fact be several of these (not all necessarily carved), one supporting the porch: the Roro whakamahau, and perhaps three in the interior, from front to rear: Pou tahuhu, Pou tokomanawa and the Pou tuarongo. Roro whakamahau: This is another compound word with additional meanings. Roro means brains in Maori and the inferred link is similar to that of the heart, in Pou tokomanawa – this pole supports or incorporates the brain. The porch itself is the mahau. This name can be compared with the use of Pou mua, or front post. These are the names for the posts, not the figures, and I generally refer to the figures as tekoteko, regardless of where they are situated.

Many houses dispense with these support poles entirely. This may be in part because of the relatively small size of most houses, or the modernity of most houses and construction techniques which eliminated the need for such supports. Where modern houses have been built utilising these poles it is most likely an architectural affectation. Their existence however shows off a slightly different tradition of wood carving, more akin to the figures in the round seen in other parts of the Pacific. Most particularly in Hawaii and in Tahiti, where similar carvings are shown in those few images we have portraying heiau and marae. There was also a Maori tradition of figures in the round, the tumu and himu figures at the top of pou matua, built into the stockades of pa.

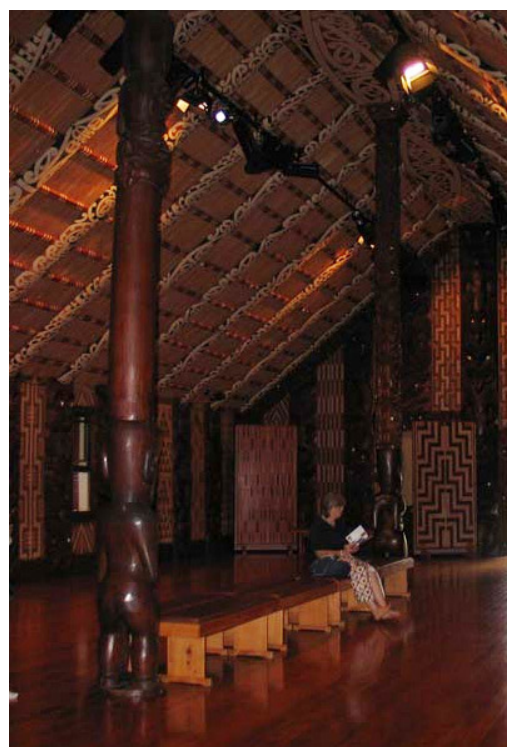
While the meanings were almost exactly analogous to those of regular poupou, each of these figures was more clearly visible, more obviously individual than most poupou, each of which was one among many, whereas tekoteko were sometimes singular, always few. The tekoteko figure was also expressed in a slightly different vernacular. Their carved configurations retain some of the features of poupou – three-fingered hands for example, outsize heads and disproportionate bodies. These are however offset by other modifications, as a clear step away from the relief-style, face on, interpretation of the human body used in poupou. Nor are these modifications made simply to suit the three-dimensional material as might be supposed.

The bodies and particularly the heads of tekoteko figures both demonstrate and reinforce which features are most important to the Maori eye. Bodies were principally a base on which to place the head; faces and heads were sacred and the moko on those faces could be important and potent identifiers. This is emphasised continually by the outsize importance of the head in whakairo, the



65 – Unknown Photographer (Christchurch Exhibition, 1906) ; 66, 67, 68 – Photographs by the author – Figures in the round.

1906 Exhibition in Christchurch (above left, 1906) showing tumu figures on the stockade and a carved gateway (now on display at Te Papa) carved by Nekua Kapua and his sons; Modern gateway from Tokumaru Bay (above right, 2005); Modern form of tekoteko, on Sir Aparana Ngata's home marae Waiomatatini (below left, Ruatoria, 2005); Interior photograph showing two Pou from behind, the image faces the front of the house inside *Te Whare Runanga* (below right, Waitangi, 2007)



head's proportional size is part of a measurement scheme. Likewise, when tipuna are truncated in poupou, even if their body is left out, their heads – the most important aspects of their representation – are retained. Proportionality like this is also similar to the use in other artistic traditions of relative size to indicate the importance of figures. So for instance in Egyptian art where Pharaoh is shown outsize physically to his surrounding citizens or the same, in Khmer carvings, like those at Angkor (Siem Reap). A technique which we have also noted in Maori art, where subordinated ancestors may be found, miniscule, or subtended to heads alone, between the legs of their own progenitors. As with poupou, paua (haliotis) shells were cut and fitted into the eyes of tekoteko, vivifying them. In tekoteko figures however, because of the three-dimensional and life-like configuration of the carvings they are even more reminiscent than poupou of the eye sockets filled by red scoria and white coral on the brooding, brobdingnagian monoliths of Rapanui.

Professor Roger Neich, suggests that Maori carving was essentially a form of relief carving.<sup>292</sup> He makes the argument even regarding three-dimensionally composed carvings such as tekoteko. These it is suggested, are, although clearly capable of being viewed in profile, nevertheless intended to be viewed face on. Thus the carver while producing a figure in the round, had the intention and expectation that most of these figures would be observed or confronted face to face and neither in profile or from the rear.

Nonetheless, I believe that these figures had some different intention, and had their own history now lost to us. It does not matter whether their artistic or carving inception had a flat surface construction as its basis or whether they were conceived that way. Their origins as a type are not to be found in an extension of the relief carving that typifies epa and poupou, but are far more akin to the figures of gods and ancestors found mounted on the walls of pa. These figures were perhaps more warding, more potent, more threatening and protective than regular poupou which were likely dormant, and more representational. As was discussed regarding pare, a special meaning may have been accorded to them – not as warders of thresholds, but rather via their form. Their potency was thus yielded by their difference and not by what they portrayed, although *who* they represented may have been important. The ancestors chosen were after all often eponymous, powerful figures. Their manifestation in three dimensions rather than relief may have brought them a step closer to the living world and made them more powerful warding figures. It may have extended their mauri, their hau, more closely into juxtaposition with the living. Unsurprisingly, these figures inside houses are often draped with real cloaks and this may be nothing more than an old tradition continued to the present that also demonstrates their greater alignment with our reality.

Lastly, these figures carved in the round are also separated from wall figures such as poupou and epa by other characteristic features. Pou tokomanawa and other such carvings are as a class free-standing and were once often load-bearing, a clear architectural distinction. Poupou, in the past and

<sup>292</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pg 149.

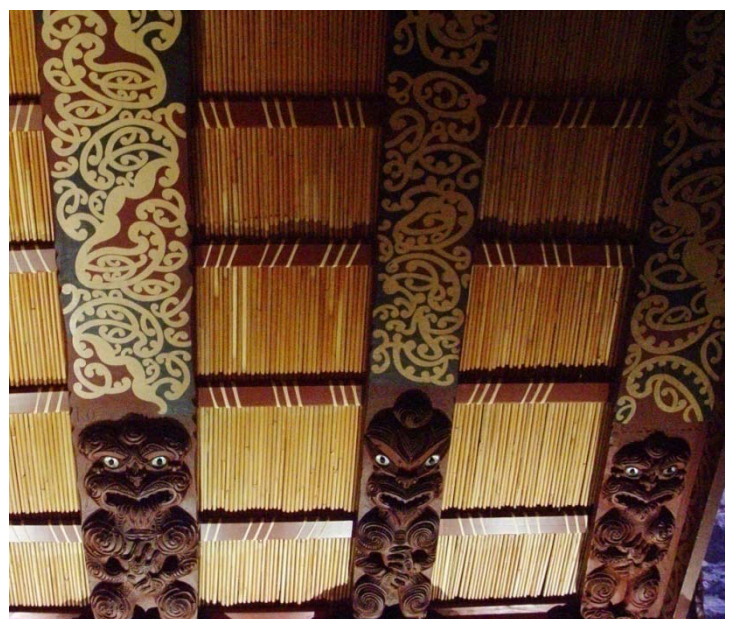


now, were designed as non load-bearing panels, as wall pieces and space definers. Flat carvings are more suitable for panels of course, and carving in the round is an obvious choice on posts. Michael Austin makes this same suggestion: “The wall sculpture as a definer of enclosed space is distinguished from objects standing in open space.”<sup>293</sup> This is an interesting point that applies not just architecturally but at a more spiritual level. Being ancestors, the poupou carvings act not only as walls but define the interior spaces of the house, on metaphysical as well as corporeal levels. They do so by existing in the first place, dividing the inner from the outer with their spiritual self, not their wooden self, and also by categorising. But Pou tokomanawa figures dominate the space in front of them and confront the viewer face on. Their individual eminence of course reflects the importance of the position in the house, where say the front is more important than the rear, and the ancestors at the front, may also be more important. The tekoteko on a Pou tokomanawa both wards and dominates the important physical space at the front of the house. The tekoteko at the head of a building assumes the same responsibility. It dominates and wards the open marae atea which lies in front



69 & 70 – Photographs by the author – Kowhaiwhai - *Hotunui*, (Auckland, 2006) and (below) *Te Hau ki Turanga*, (Wellington, 2004).

Showing heke from the porch area of *Hotunui* (above), a range of patterns, all with different meanings may be seen. Traditional media of sharks oil, red and white ochre and charcoal were long ago eschewed and kowhaiwhai patterns are painted. The same area is shown below from *Te Hau ki Turanga*, but on the older house, the patterns, like the carvings, betray both knowledge and sensibilities that had diminished by the time of construction of later whare. The complexity of the older kowhaiwhai is immediately evident.



<sup>293</sup> Austin, "Polynesian Architecture in New Zealand". pg 65.

of the whare.

The free-standing figures, the eponyms or the founders of a hapu, iwi or other social grouping are the most important. Thus, there may be a final significance in the use of principal ancestors at such important architectonic junctures – they literally and figuratively support the house – which itself represents the enclosed hapu.

### Other representation

Within the Whare nui there are also numerous forms of representation besides carving which, while decorative, had other inceptions, meanings and symbology. These were related to the ideal of carving but formed in different media. Nor was representation limited to the physical, as the next chapter details, verbal and human displays such as whaikorero (speeches) and haka (dances) were used throughout marae in various contexts. Non-carved representations included figurative painting (during the post-contact period), non-figurative painted patterns, particularly the kowhaiwhai patterns to be found on heke (rafters) and woven tukutuku patterns, usually used on walls between carvings. In each instance, these no doubt started as mundane items, plain beams or plain walls, and over time acquired both an art historic basis, and a tapu and representational aspect. Unlike carved figures, the painted and woven patterns, while rich with meaning, were not highly tapu and were not infused with mauri as the whakairo were. Geometric patterns, which the cross-hatching of flax lends itself to (tukutuku) have a very long history in Austronesian culture, as can be seen for instance in the Lapita pottery markings. In New Zealand they are another manifestation of historical antecedents re-used by Maori in new forms. Both kowhaiwhai and tukutuku, had greater complexity and more particular meaning in the pre-contact era and in the early days of colonial European settlement in New Zealand. More specifically, they were branches of knowledge maintained by tohunga. Kowhaiwhai for instance were used to reference genealogical relationships, while having additional meanings. A fairly basic pattern for instance, such as Mangotipi represented the White Pointer Shark, while the Mangopare pattern, signified the Hammer Head Shark, examples similar to these shapes are shown in the two top rafters of the image (refer to figure 67) from the whare *Hotunui*. It is clear that the form of these kowhaiwhai were based originally on the real entities. Abstract meanings were also represented, for instance, that known as Puhoro, a Te Arawa pattern, which means speed and agility. However, in the same way that there was a loss of understanding of how to read whakairo, and the knowledge of particular meanings of moko were diminished, so over time kowhaiwhai have been summarised, made simpler.

Originally, the patterns were made using shark oil (or other oil), infused with red or white ochre (or chalk), or charcoal, giving four base colours, a dark brown from the wood, a russet (kokowai), white and black. Kokowai is the red stain that has been so widely emulated with the use of red paint.

Maori were quick, as with other European technology to commence using paints, which quickly replaced traditional media.

Tukutuku patterns are also representational. Many examples of these can be seen in the space between poupou in images earlier in this chapter. As with kowhaiwhai, the patterns include those with specific representational significance and those which are more abstract. Poutama for instance (this can be clearly seen in Fig. 68, above, on a screen at the right, rear of the Whare runanga) means a stairway to heaven, and while looking like actual steps has additional, deeper meanings. It was related to the story of Tawhaki, climbing into the sky to receive knowledge, but also has further connotations. The ideal of Poutama was the person who supports their iwi and hapu, obviously ariki and rangatira. Even the name itself may be interpreted, pou-tama, post-man, so literally, a man who supports. I surmise additionally that the Poutama pattern, or knowledge of it, predates Maori arrival in New Zealand. The step is not a feature of Maori architectural design, and when viewed in isolation, the pattern looks clearly like the stepped pyramids found on marae in Tahiti, the burial mounds in Tonga and Samoa, the Ahu platforms in Rapanui and the foundation for Heiau in Hawaii. This affinity seems more than coincidence.

Other patterns were equally representative, Purapura Whetu (Maori: myriad stars) for instance, a design of numerous diagonal crosses, represented the night sky, but was also abstracted to the ideal of the large family.

It is not the place of this thesis to cover these subjects in greater depth, but nevertheless, they have an important place in the decorative philosophy and schema of Whare whakairo, marae and other areas which have come to be decorated in semblance of the marae.

### **The whare as a kinship unit**

In an earlier chapter, I made the argument that Maori society was both a House Society and a Waka (Canoe) Society. A cultural group based on the idea of inter-relationship linked to the waka, or at a later point, the house. As a Canoe Society, I believe that Maori showed features of what have been termed, observed or posited as House Societies, but within the framework instead of the waka, or canoe, acting as the binding kinship unit; what are known as ramages. Salient features are still observed today, such as the continued use of tribal waka as the highest level of social organisation uniting iwi. With the waka's lessening importance over time, however, the whare, and particularly the Whare whakairo took on a new importance and a special relevance. It is easier to assert that the house is central to kinship units in Maori society in the period since European contact. The reason for this is that whare continued to increase in importance over that time, or at least, large whare became more obvious. In part this is because of the rise of the Whare (whakairo) as the dominant repository of externalised mana, that is, the place which symbolised and retained the mana of the rangatira and



hapu. It was also due to the newly central place of the Whare nui in the cultural lives of Maori, something which emerged in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While most house societies probably arose in older cultural contexts, the Maori House Society is fairly modern. However, it is clear from the continued importance of the house both over the course of Maori history in New Zealand and in the societies of our ancestors before arriving in this new land that the basis for the House Society had long existed.

The origins of the idea of the House Society are a little elliptic. They are based on the work of pioneering anthropologist Franz Boaz amongst the Pacific Northwest American tribe, the Kwakiutl.<sup>294</sup> The work of Boaz was reviewed by Claude Levi-Strauss who used it as the basis for his own definitions of the cultural aspects of what constituted a House Society. Many of these aspects are clearly visible in both archaeological and descriptive records of Maori Society from the past and they are demonstrable in modern Maori society. There are nine major properties which House Societies may generally share, to whatever extent. These are, according to González-Ruibal, but formulated originally by Levi-Strauss:

1. Ranked systems, or societies that are undergoing major social transformations towards a more hierarchical organization.
2. Unclear or mixed descent systems.
3. Houses must be a key symbolical element in the community at issue. They have to be the focus of all ordinary and extraordinary activities, but especially of rituals and sacrifices, thus displaying defining material features pointing at their symbolic relevance.
4. Related to the latter, a strong investment in houses (as buildings) and clear differences among houses should be noticed. Houses must be an arena for social competition and this may be reflected in monumentality and in prestige materials associated to houses.
5. The existence of titles of nobility, recurrent family names, etc. This can be tracked down through epigraphy, graffiti, coats of arms or symbols depicted in personal belongings or structures.
6. Heirlooms and elements of rank which are inherited.
7. Houses go beyond traditional kin systems and both the female and male lines might be manipulated in order to accrue the house's wealth. Women in house societies usually make a significant contribution in terms of wealth or power to the house's capital.
8. The relevance of territory for defining a collective identity, though not decisive, might also point to this kind of social organization.
9. Explicit references to houses as social units.<sup>295</sup>

Many of these elements are mentioned in the course of this thesis, and there is significant evidence for each of these features being a component of the mystique of the whare in Maori culture.

<sup>294</sup> González-Ruibal, "House Societies Vs. Kinship-Based Societies: An Archaeological Case from Iron Age Europe."

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

However, I will not be expanding much on the discussion of the house society here. Item three however is of critical importance to the discussion of the Whare whakairo, the carved house: “Houses must be a key symbolical element in the community at issue.” This has special importance both here and in the following chapter as well, which looks at the ritual elements of the marae.

Whare whakairo, are replete with symbology and the symbolic nature of the house is both general and also specific. There is a general symbology in the idea of the house representing the local hapu. As well, however, components of the house are themselves representational and have additional meaning beyond their basis as carved architectural elements, which make those elements specifically iconic.

The symbology starts with the broad ideal of the house as an agent for the mana of the hapu, so, many whare are for instance named as eponymous ancestors and then are filled with the spirit of that ancestor, metaphorically at the very least. The desecration of a whare in the old days would have diminished the mana of the hapu. In the present, the violation of tapu within the house is insulting to both the hapu, and the symbolic ancestral spirit(s) of the house. In Te Ao Maori though, that spirit is most likely active and present; what is deemed symbolic and theoretical in European terms transcends the virtual and is potent and real in Maori culture. The represented ancestor intersects the spirit world and our world using the portal of the carved figure. The transgression of tapu may harm those who broke that tapu.

The fractal make-up of Whare whakairo is visible on several levels: the whole house is organised into physical components that represent body parts, often of an ancestor; within the house, other ancestors are depicted as carved figures; there is a hierarchic relationship within the layout of the house embodied in the carved figures, with more, or less important figures ranked by position; there are further hierarchies within individual figures, more important above less important. But these are all the result of a complex symbolic structure, without which this fractalisation would be unclear. The codification of each element of the Whare whakairo commences before its construction in the mind of its authors, originally the Tohunga whakairo rakau, in consultation with the commissioning rangatira. In more recent times, those roles have been extended to the entire hapu, actioned by individuals (usually a marae committee) charged with the construction or renovation of a new whare.

Thereafter, the continued coding follows the same process as the construction of the whare. First, material is chosen and coded symbolically as tapu or non-tapu. Then, figures are carved which are more or less hierarchically important but which are all symbolic representations and as a general rule, tapu. This is more because of each of the tapu of the wood, the tapu of the carver and the tapu of the circumstance rather than the individual tapu. So, for instance, non-depictive skirting carvings retain an element of tapu, but not because they are either representational or symbolic. When the carving is completed, the house as a whole is constructed from its constituent parts and acquires a greater tapu, first by the act of constitution (which unifies its symbolism) but also due to the use of

specific ritual. The ritual welds or melds the last symbolic representation into the fabric of the whare. In Western terms that might be the end of it, but in Te Ao Maori, the unification of the house vivifies it; ritual awakens the house and the meta-symbol becomes a living thing. While Levi-Strauss may have stressed and discerned the importance of the sign and coding, in the building of Whare whakairo other forces are at play.

Finally, the house acts as a kinship unit. At one time, this meant that the house was named for an ancestor of the commissioning rangatira. For that rangatira, as an actual descendant of that whare, this *implied* their mana; it tangibly stored mana; and as rangatira were the leaders of their people, it also imputed the mana of the entire hapu. Now, whare may be named for more distant ancestors, in more inclusive fashion, relating a wide range of individuals from the originating hapu to their whare, not just the descendants of particular rangatira-lines. In some instances (at Waipapa for instance, the University of Auckland Marae, or Te Herenga at Victoria University) houses are named for high-order ancestral gods, such as Tane, or Maui, or for pan-tribal symbols such as Te Punga o te Waka (the anchor of the canoe) to ensure that pan-tribal relationships can be asserted. Thus, a fictive kinship is created, where the relationship is indisputable and inclusive because of its antiquity, but rooted in myth as the ancestor to which all house-users relate is mythic. This is a neat twist to the idea of kinship relationships within Maori society and demonstrates the continued flexibility of the marae and kindred structures.

## Conclusions

Whakairo, carvings, and Whare whakairo, carved houses, have become the centrepiece and showcases of Maori art. For most who view these carvings, they may be perceived as intriguing, but distorted figurative art. However, the reasons for the artistic mannerism of these carvings have much to do with tradition and the accepted way of doing things within the conventions of Maori art. So, there is tremendous continuity within art historic traditions over time and genuine variation only appears with the experimental use of perspective and a greater range of three-dimensionality at the very end of the nineteenth century. Regardless, the usage of carvings within a Maori framework, whether on a modern marae, or in older times within pa, had other significance. The figurative aspect of the whakairo was often little more than a palimpsest for the greater significance of the carvings as interjacentes and as receptacles. Whakairo were places in which mana and even mauri might reside, and through the workings of that mauri, interconnections between Te Po, the world of spirits and Te Ao Marama, the world in which we live, might be established.

Carvings, particularly those for Whare whakairo, were deeply tapu and that tapu commenced even before the carving. Specialist wood carving priests, Tohunga whakairo rakau, would preselect wood, that wood becoming more tapu with the processes that followed. The carving process was

tapu, the erection was tapu. The whakairo themselves were not only tapu, but had taken on a new life. They were infused with their own mana and had received mauri from several sources: their wooden matrix (sacred to the god Tane); the mauri of the Tohunga; the imbued mauri of the atua they represented. As well, they were objects of ritual, ritual that enhanced and completed their new roles. They were literally inhabited by the spirit of the ancestor. That is the real essence of Nga Whare whakairo, carved houses; they transcend a collection of carvings made into a house and have other potencies. They have a life of their own that we are scarcely aware of in these latter days. Lastly, into this milieu crept the influence of European art, technology and even economics and over time Maori art was completely changed. There has been a reaction to this, from the 1930s onwards, but the result really, a return to traditionalism and even regionalism results for the most part in a conformity with antiquity. It is a way I suppose of retaining tangible links to a partly lost heritage.

There were and are many layers of meaning, some of which are fractal. Whakairo directly represented ancestors and might do so by gesture or the display of accoutrement, by the replication of specific moko, or in more recent times, by appellation using written words. The accessories shown on carvings, say a weapon or a tool, were also metonymous, implying for instance good chieftainship, or attributes identifiably belonging to a particular individual. The genealogical circumstances of whakairo were evident by their position within the larger schema of a whare; where they were placed might denote either their antiquity from the present or their literally relative importance in the hierarchy of a whakapapa. Some figures, descended, less important, might even be subtended to figureheads, at the base of pou.

The most important figures, the most potent and powerful, I argue, were eponymous, or figuratively supportive, the tekoteko and the pou tokomanawa figures. These, unsurprisingly, were reprised in a different form of the Maori carving vernacular, and were carved as figures in the round.

## **Chapter Six:**

# **TIKANGA O NGA MARAE - Ritual on the Marae**

**Introduction; DEFINING THE HUI: Tangi, Kawe mate and Unveilings; Weddings, 21<sup>st</sup> Birthdays, Anniversaries; Church gatherings; Kingitanga hui – King Movement gatherings; Opening of marae buildings; Welcoming dignitaries; Semi-hui: conferences, committee meetings, socials; Tourist hui; DEFINING THE POWHIRI: Gathering; Wero – challenges; Karanga – calls; Haka powhiri – (war) dances; Mihi and whaikorero – speeches (of welcome); Waiata – songs; Koha – gift giving; The place of utu; Hongi – meeting; Hakari – feasting; Conclusions**

This chapter focuses on the common rituals, and the transitions between the spaces of the marae and how these are transacted. This chapter specifically discusses the main reasons that people gather at marae and the form of the ceremonies that are used when people are on marae. This is accomplished in two sections, the first dealing with the various purposes for gatherings on marae, the second detailing the main parts of the powhiri (greeting ritual).

Gatherings on marae may be for any take, or purpose and in Maori are termed hui. There are however only a small number of reasons that people regularly gather for hui and these can be roughly defined. Foremost amongst these is the tangi, a Maori funeral ceremony, which can be extremely elaborate and may progress over several days. There are however several other forms of hui, and this chapter bases its definitions on Anne Salmond's important work, *Hui*. Since that book was originally written the marae complex has continued to evolve and their common usage has in some instances been transformed – while a new form of hui has become increasingly important at some marae. This chapter defines what I consider to be another form of hui, the Tourist Hui, which although it has a long history, has nevertheless become probably the principal form of interface between non-New Zealanders and the Maori culture of the marae.<sup>296</sup>

Hui and why they occur on particular marae help define the place of that marae to its hapu, or to the people who use it. Marae, this chapter contends are not defined by where they are physically situated, or even by their origins, but rather by their utilisation. Thus, the further major differentiation that is introduced in this thesis between Living Houses and Sleeping Houses (Nga Whare Ora and Nga Whare Puni).

In earlier times, friendly visitors to Maori villages would have been both ritually cleansed and greeted, using formulaic ritual largely familiar to both parties, particularly if they were part of the same iwi. These rituals came into existence no doubt to protect both parties firstly from the potential for violent physical acts – the portent for which was self-evident in the proliferation of pa-sites – and secondly from the manifestation of spiritual forces, whether at the behest of malevolent tohunga or, more likely, simply because of unseen and unacknowledged spirits.

Although over time the marae has accreted into a more definable, less amorphous form, the rituals of greeting have stayed largely in place, no longer for protection against violence, to some extent as protection against spiritual malfeasance but certainly as a memento of continuity between our ancestors, our cultural history and our now.<sup>297</sup>

What follows in this chapter is a first discussion of those rituals. We have followed the chain of the physical building to New Zealand, from our origins as a people, to other similar groupings and

---

<sup>296</sup> Garbutt, "Conserving the Living Object - the Conservation of Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand". pp 38;41. For example, both the house *Rauru* at Whakarewarewa and TE Donne's house, *Te Wharepuni a Maui* (also at Whakarewarewa) were constructed with the idea of display for tourists, during the course of what I would term: Tourist Hui. This was in the period around 1900.

<sup>297</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pp 115-120.

structures in the Pacific and further and then focussed on the origins of the New Zealand marae. What however is the function and purpose of the modern marae? How are they utilised in these latter days when the village structure on which they were founded has been replaced in almost every instance by the iteration of urbis and suburb?

Modern marae continue to be used and hold a place in the Maori world for manifold reasons. They do not however exist in that frame-work alone, but are utilised regularly for functions that include both other (non Maori-acculturated) New Zealanders and even foreign visitors in increasing numbers. There are of course many non-Maori, who for various reasons such as marriage, personal interest, cultural adoption and so on are actively engaged in Maori cultural practices. While the majority usage of a marae – they are highly functional complexes – will be for ‘Maori’ reasons, those reasons are nevertheless familiar on every level to non-Maori observers or participants. They are familiar uses such as weddings, celebrations or funerals. While these reasons are familiar they are also often accompanied by rituals, and the observance of and participation in these may lie beyond the scope of most and remain opaque even to regular participants. Any gatherings that take place on a marae may be collectively known as hui and where hui occur there may be a series of rituals and ceremonies associated depending on the purpose. The first part of this chapter then, is a discussion of different forms of hui, elaborating on the more common and substantiating the continued role of the marae in the material of Maori culture.

This is followed by discussion of the common forms of ritual enacted during hui, the most common of which is the powhiri, a greeting ceremony, which may last several hours, depending on the elements enacted and the number and special nature of the participants. In older times there were other important rituals and ceremonies which are no longer enacted, most particularly huge hakari, or feasts which hold a clear similarity to the potlatch ceremonies of North America and muru (wahine) in which ‘plunder’ or retribution was taken to redress imbalances in utu or to right perceived misdeeds or slights. These are not discussed in this thesis.

## DEFINING THE HUI

A Hui, at its simplest is a gathering, one which may occur anywhere, and may occur for any reason whatsoever. What designates it as a hui is its planned nature; a hui is not a spontaneous gathering, rather, someone, or a group of people, have organised for others to gather, usually for a specific purpose. Thus the term hui has a broad meaning that may be associated with a number of activities but has a distinct sense of purpose.<sup>298</sup> Although it may actually take place anywhere, the most typical site for a hui is however the marae, in part because the marae complex lends itself to such gatherings, in part because the more usual reasons for a hui are Maori reasons, related to the

---

<sup>298</sup> Ibid. pp 179-180.



celebrations or mournings, or the day to day business of the broader community that is associated with a particular marae.<sup>299</sup>

Although not all visits to marae are for hui, and indeed regular casual visits by the people who live on or belong to the marae will attract no fanfare, the majority of formal visits occur in the lead-up to a hui; the powhiri ceremony, detailed more fully below, is then the prelude for each group's arrival. Many groups may attend a large or lengthy hui, while some hui may attract but a single group thus necessitating only a single powhiri.

While there may be any number of reasons for a hui at a marae, generally, there is a small number of recurrent themes in which people participate. While not all hui may require a powhiri, at some it is the norm and many powhiri may occur over the course of a few days – at a funeral (tangi) for instance. Anne Salmond, delineates hui types from a sample of hui she attended in 1970-72, as follows:

- Tangi, Kawe mate, Unveilings
- Weddings, 21<sup>st</sup> Birthdays, Anniversaries
- Church gatherings
- King Movement gatherings
- Opening of marae buildings
- Visits by Minister of Maori Affairs (I prefer to use a category of 'welcoming dignitaries' and later in this chapter, that is the sub-heading that is discussed, not simply visits by the Minister of Maori Affairs.)

And lastly,

- Semi-hui: Conferences, committee meetings, socials<sup>300</sup>

Salmond details all of these categories very thoroughly in her book *Hui*, which, almost needless to say, focuses on the hui, however I consider it useful in the present circumstances to briefly discuss each of the categories that have been suggested, as they are the reason for the majority of visits from outsiders to marae. The reasons for the visit thus form the basis for the ceremonies that follow.

Such a list is fairly definitive and while the ratios may have changed over time amongst these categories, and will continue to do so, the vast majority of hui would continue to fall into these groupings. To these we can add a another distinct category of *tourist hui*, ones in which the visitors are tourists and are immersed albeit briefly in a facsimile of a hui, usually including a powhiri that differs in no general respect from a regular powhiri. As well, in recent years there have been many important

---

<sup>299</sup> Ibid. pg 179.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid. pg 179.

hui related to Waitangi Treaty settlements. These hui may start as many local discussions within rohe (tribal regions) about possible negotiations, but have in each concluded settlement ended in panoply and even pomp with major hui celebrating success for iwi.

### **Tangi, Kawe mate and Unveilings**

A tangi is a Maori funeral ceremony and should not be confused with a funeral service, which will typically take place, largely along Christian lines, either near the conclusion of the tangi or during the interment of the body. Indeed, the word tangi means literally ‘crying’.<sup>301</sup> After death, the body of a loved one will normally rest at their home for a final night before being moved to a marae for the tangi. If there is no local marae to which the deceased is closely affiliated, the entire tangi may take place at their residence. The tangi itself may take as little as a few hours but in the case of a large tangi could last several days (usually three) and takes precedence over any other gathering that may have been planned for the marae.

Salmond notes that in the Maatatua, Near the Bay of Plenty in the North Island. region a temporary shelter is erected in which to lay the coffin, known as a Whare mate, or house of the dead. In general however, the body will rest (in the coffin) inside the Whare nui, the position therein determined by local kawa (ritual), or likewise, on the porch region of the whare instead. The word kawa is similar in meaning to tikanga, but perhaps with an emphasis on more local interpretations of tikanaga. I have heard comments however from tipuna who say that this is a recent word and that when they were growing up, it was never used. In the case of a Whare nui being too small to accommodate many visitors a marquee may be erected outside and nearby, acting as a Whare mate during the course of the tangi.

During the tangi, the body will lie in state as it were, in all but the rarest circumstances with the coffin open, surrounded by photos of others who have died before: loved ones, family members or other tribal elders. Family and friends will sit (and sleep) nearby to keep the deceased company and visitors will come throughout the day, gathering in groups outside the marae and then being ceremonially welcomed with the powhiri rituals which are detailed below. The coffin itself and often the area very close nearby will be draped in fine cloaks, and prized taonga of the family or friends, as a sign of respect and to show the mana of the deceased.<sup>302</sup>

Over the length of the tangi, numerous ritual speeches are made detailing the life of the deceased and farewelling them (poroporoaki: valedictions) and at night, family and friends may gather and recount less formal anecdotes of their lives either in the Whare kai, or even in the Whare nui. In some

<sup>301</sup> Williams and New Zealand. Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Maori Language., *A Dictionary in the Maori Language*. Or crying out – tears are: roimata.

<sup>302</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 182. Also: Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pg 136.

respects, the deceased is still alive in the eyes of visitors. Speeches are directed to the them, often exactly as though they were alive, as Michael Austin puts it: "...physical and social death are not simultaneous for the Maori. At the tangi, the dead person is treated as if still present..."<sup>303</sup> Nor, although their spirit leaves after the tangi are they dead yet in the eyes of the iwi, but rather they may live on as tipuna, previously as whakairo, nowadays most often in honoured photographs on the walls of houses.

At the conclusion of the tangi, the casket will be closed and then the deceased will finally leave the world of the living and be taken away, usually for burial. Because of the importance of death and the closeness of ancestors in Maori life, the tangi is a hugely important ceremony; thus its length, its specific rituals and its elaboration.

A kawē mate, related to the tangi as a ceremony, occurs when the body of a loved one has been unable to return to their marae – in modern circumstances, if for instance they died overseas. In these cases the ceremony follows the same sort of processes as the tangi, with the emphasis on the poroporoaki, the ritual farewell to the deceased.<sup>304</sup>

Both the tangi and the kawē mate function on numerous levels, some mundane, others arcane and spiritual. Certainly, the huge outpouring of grief that occurs during these ceremonies might be emotionally purgative for all involved, but such human reasons are transcended by the more metaphysical impetus for these ceremonies.<sup>305</sup> A tangi, or kawē mate demonstrates the mana of the deceased in their community and at a large tangi, literally thousands of people may visit, and pay their respects, some having travelled the length of the country or from overseas. Mana, not so much the exercise of it, but the innate collection of it, continues to be a silent focus in Maori life. Mana dictates one's position on a marae, within the Maori community and accrues even after death, as a particularly fine tangi will be remembered long afterwards and will reflect greatly on the mana and esteem (as well as the love) in which that person was held.

Beyond even mana however, beyond the panoply of the Christian ceremony that is normally the conclusion of the modern tangi, are the spiritual roots of Maori that can be traced back to our legendary homeland Hawaikinui. Thus, the metaphysical is called into play, as the spirit of the deceased is released by the tangi, at last to leave their loved ones, having seen and had demonstrated that they are and will be greatly loved and well respected. They may now shake fully free of their body, fly to Cape Reinga in the far north of New Zealand and then leap off the tip of the land, to return however spirits do so to Hawaiki, where our ancestors live on.

Indeed, most modern Whare nui are adorned in their interstices, or on their supporting poles, with photographs of beloved local elders, in a sort of prelude to the carved representations of

<sup>303</sup> Austin, "Polynesian Architecture in New Zealand".pg 119.

<sup>304</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pp 188-191. Also: Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 144-5.

<sup>305</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 180.

ancestors that support the very fabric of the house, as we shall see in a later chapter. These photos are no mere reminders of those people but are a tangible recognition of the place of the dead in everyday Maori life.

Nevertheless, the modern ceremonies undertaken in a tangi are clearly the melange of Christian rituals and those originally undertaken by Maori. While the Christian portion of the ceremony these days consists largely of regular funeral services, the remaining parts of the tangi differ in little respect from older Maori customary observance. For instance, Augustus Earle gives clear impressions of the tangi for a rangatira that he observed in 1827:

...under a rude hut (constructed for the purpose) lay the body of the deceased chief, closely covered up with mats, leaving only part of the face and head exposed; in his hair was stuck a profusion of long white feathers, by way of ornament. Two women (whom I understood were his wives) sat close to the corpse; they were painted all over with red ochre, and seemed to perform the parts of chief mourners. These kept up a low moaning noise, and occasionally whisked off the flies from the face of the deceased. The women, the corpse, the hut, and the ground for some space round them, were all strictly taboo'd. Some bundles of fish, and some calabashes filled with oil, were left close by the body, intended for his consumption during his passage to the next world.<sup>306</sup>

What Earle possibly does not understand is that the feathers were not merely ornament but probably sacred and that the women were covered in sacred red ochre, in accord with the sanctity of the tangi. As well, not quoted here, but mentioned by Earle was the belief of Europeans in their party that their attendance at the tangi had specifically prevented human sacrifice (in the form of slaves) during the course of the tangi, seemingly a common occurrence when mourning a rangatira of the deceased's stature.

Obviously the details differ in some respects, the use of ochre for instance, once sacred or at least representative of tapu in Maori society, but the broad impression is unchanged. The cloth of the ceremony has remained much the same.

Lastly, the unveiling ceremony (hura kohatu - also known as hurahanga kohatu and whakara kohatu) is a Christian ritual, with Maori overtones – it may be fully undertaken in the Maori language for instance – during which a grave-stone is unveiled. Although a certain proportion of such unveilings will occur in regular cemeteries, wherever those may be, it is still the norm for those closely associated with a marae to be interred in the local urupa and thus for the ceremony to take place on marae grounds. Usually it is a quite literal unveiling; the stone is originally covered and then revealed to the gathered mourners who may pay their respects again to the deceased. In many cases, fine

---

<sup>306</sup> Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827: Together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan D'acunha, an Island Situated between South America and the Cape of Good Hope* (London [England]: Printed for Longman Rees Orme Brown Green & Longman, 1832). pp 79-80.

cloaks are draped over the stone as a sign of respect and in a recapitulation of the draping of the coffin during the tangi. An unveiling may indeed proceed somewhat like a miniature tangi, with a powhiri, a service and then the unveiling itself.<sup>307</sup> The headstone, normally selected by the family sometime before, may have already been erected for weeks or longer. What is important here is the *process* of commemoration.

These rituals, and the hui for this take place usually one year after the original tangi and it may be argued that the timing of this date is actually related to the ancient timing of the disinterment of bones and then the stripping of flesh and reinterment that took place in those older Maori burials. There seems to be no relationship between this literal anniversary timing and the precepts of non-Maori Christian burials.

### **Weddings, 21<sup>st</sup> Birthdays, Anniversaries**

While weddings and anniversaries require only a few words here an explanation of the importance of the 21<sup>st</sup> birthday might be more necessary.

Weddings in general follow western Christian traditions and little Maori ceremony may occur. Certainly, although if strict protocol was being followed, a powhiri would be necessary to welcome visitors to the marae, this may be overlooked or simply not implemented. Often, the only parts of the marae that may be used for any of these celebrations will be the Whare kai, the kitchens and the ablution blocks, all of which are somewhat like fairly sophisticated catering halls, as used within the wider New Zealand community. Commercial enterprise may mean in some communities that these facilities are for hire to the general public as a revenue stream for the marae itself. Catering may also be provided by the marae itself, the ringawera (literally hot hands – the cooks and other helpers in the kitchen) providing all the food for the occasion for a pre-arranged fee organised by the marae.<sup>308</sup> Ringawera is at least is the term I have always used and heard and that I believe to be the most common eponym. Some suggest that it comes from the times when all food was cooked hangi-style, in earth ovens and cooks had literally hot hands (ringa - hand, wera - hot). Salmond however uses the phrases kanohi wera (“hot faces”, which she translates as “red faces”) and wiwi, suggesting that they (the cooks) are as plentiful as wiwi (tussock grass).<sup>309</sup>

While weddings and anniversary celebrations will be familiar to the majority of readers, it should be explained that in New Zealand, the 21<sup>st</sup> birthday and the accompanying celebrations are a sort of coming of age rite for the celebrant. These birthday parties are quite serious events, often with much planning and certain accompanying aspects that in some way reflect the New Zealand culture, one

<sup>307</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 192.

<sup>308</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 102; 185.

<sup>309</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 105.

feature of which may include heavy drinking.<sup>310</sup> As with say a wedding reception, a 21<sup>st</sup> birthday may be catered, although the selection of foods tends to be based rather on snacks and desserts, really the equivalent of hors d'oeuvres, than complete meals, but of a simpler, heartier kind – small pies, pikelets, sandwiches, scones, savouries, lamingtons.

What is important to note is that in some rural communities where no local “hall” may be available and for many of Maori descent, the Whare kai and by extension the marae entire have become a social venue and a gathering point.<sup>311</sup>

### Church gatherings

Although, some marae encompass churches within their precincts, many do not and so the Whare nui has become for those, often a de facto church for religious services. These are held along Maori lines and are engaged more overtly with Maori cultural sensibilities, but the Christian consecration involved is a clear pointer to the continued role of religion in the Whare nui. A broad distinction may however be drawn between contemporary Christian ceremonies (usually Catholic or Anglican, also Presbyterian, Methodist and Mormon) with which it could be asserted that the majority of Maori nominally identify, and other variant religious ethoi, the most common of which have been Ringatu and Ratana.<sup>312</sup> In the former, church services run along relatively conventional lines, much as they would in any European church, but in the latter the variations that occur also include the service structure and other accoutrement of these separate religious movements.

A marae church service will in general however be conducted at least partly in the Maori language. Whether the adherents and celebrants do or do not predominantly speak the language, the hymns are likely to be sung in Maori and other portions of the service may relate in some way to a more specifically Maori viewpoint. The priest is usually of Maori descent and may indeed in more heavily populated areas, take several services in the course of a single day at several local marae.

As these are casual gatherings, a powhiri is most unlikely to be called for, particularly as the adherents are generally regular locals, possibly with a few friends or family members who may be visiting.

A distinction can also be made between these, very regular gatherings that may occur (usually on a Sunday) on marae throughout the country and more specific large-scale hui, which are oriented

---

<sup>310</sup> Ibid. pp 193-7.

<sup>311</sup> Comments I base largely on personal experience. Mead however discusses the ideals of manaakitanga (host responsibility; hospitality) and hospitality with reference to the wider community in: Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 97-8.

<sup>312</sup> Ringatu. A Christian-bible based religious movement established or founded on prophecies made by Te Kooti Rikirangi (1831? – 1893) and in a sub-sect Rua, a son of Kenana who was a follower of Te Kooti. In the 2001 New Zealand census there remained over 15,000 adherents.

Ratana Church. A Maori religious (and political) movement based on Christianity and founded by Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana (1873 - 1939). In the 2001 New Zealand census there remained over 48,000 adherents.

along religious lines. For instance, the gatherings by individual dioceses, or commemorative assemblies, such as the Ratana Churches annual celebration on 25<sup>th</sup> of January, Tahupotiki Ratana's birth-date. In these cases, several marae may be involved in hosting, feeding and housing the visitors who may number thousands, beyond the scope of even the largest marae to cater for at one time. Regular powhiri may be enacted at the commencement of the celebrations, but thereafter a more casual air seems the norm.

A further word should mention that the Ratana Church's annual celebration takes place at Ratana Pa, situated in the lower North Island, at a marae (or pa as the residents refer to it) that comprises roughly 100 houses, as many as 30,000 gather for the hui. Such numbers could never be accommodated by either the local houses or the capacious Whare noho and a temporary tent city springs up for the duration. Whare noho is the name for an especially large Whare nui that has been built on the Pa, specifically to house visitors. Whare noho might be translated as: Accommodation House. The festivities are centred on the Ratana Temple, serene, solid and whitewashed, redolent of Pacific Island Churches elsewhere and also to some extent on the Manuaou the unusual, modern, triple meeting house of the Ratana Pa. Although the hui's participants are largely Maori, and some of the ceremonies follow Maori lines, many portions of the gathering are specifically related to the Ratana Church and its beliefs and stand outside the more ancient Maori ethos.

### **Kingitanga hui - King Movement gatherings**

Simply put, these are hui which are arranged to celebrate, iterate or otherwise organise the King Movement, originally a political movement created in part to combat European settlement in the nineteenth century. There has been a line of Maori Kings and a Queen since then (currently a Maori King), recognised by the Tainui tribes from the Waikato region and the King Country who if not established as sovereigns over Maori, have certainly been respected and acknowledged by other iwi throughout New Zealand.

Although these hui may occur for relatively spontaneous reasons – a visit by the Maori King for example – there are also certain dates on which King Movement gatherings occur each year. The Coronation Hui for instance annually celebrates the Maori King's coronation, while others celebrate the birthdates of the current King's ancestors and their coronations. In 2006 for instance a week-long hui took place at the Kingitanga principal marae Turangawaewae, at Ngaruawahia, a township, north of Hamilton, in the North Island, celebrating the Maori Queen's fortieth anniversary. At such an important event, very large numbers of dignitaries, both Maori and non-Maori were present, including the Prime Minister and also the Governor General of New Zealand. In total, over the course of that week, more than 40,000 visitors passed through the gates of Turangawaewae marae, peaking with 10,000 on the final day. Such is the continued scope of some Maori celebrations.



### Opening of marae buildings

As a form of hui, this really is the rarest event, although at certain times, such as during the 1930s and again in the 1970s when many Whare nui were being built and/or re-vivified, there would have been more such ceremonies.<sup>313</sup> This is also, along with the rituals surrounding the tangi, one of the most formal and important of hui. Visitors may, as with a tangi, come from far and wide, this time to pay their respects to the ancestors of the marae, personified in the Whare nui itself – at least when that is the building being opened.<sup>314</sup>

These ceremonies, as with a tangi, inhabit a stage between the secular world and the more metaphysical domain of the ancestors who are the very fabric of the house. While the opening of subsidiary buildings – Whare kai, Whare paku &c. – may be important to the communities that utilise the marae, these buildings are clearly imbued with neither the mana nor the tapu of the Whare nui.<sup>315</sup> Thus, their opening may be greeted with fanfare, and even ceremony, but the celebration is unlikely to engender or necessitate the same care that a Whare nui would.

A Whare nui however will have been subject to numerous proscriptions during either its original construction or any reconstruction that may have occurred. These would fall into two ranges, one regarding the construction of the fabric of the house the other and more important into its trappings. The modern house, say from early twentieth century onwards, is now essentially a European hall *construct* using whatever are the current building techniques to erect a wall supported structure, with a peaked roof and a solid floor. While such a house may literally stand by itself, may be named and may hold mana in its own right, nevertheless it is to some extent a European and not a Maori assemblage.

What entitles and vivifies the house is not its construction but rather its embodiment. At some point this building takes on or is imbued with its own spirit and becomes literally the ancestor it represents, or in other cases comes to signify the event for which it is named.<sup>316</sup> In the Taranaki region for example, houses have often been named for historic/legendary events which have occurred, rather than as ancestor figures, which is most common elsewhere. While some ancestors may appear to be mythologic, taking their names from demi-gods &c. as Maori descent lines in genealogy often include these figures at their earliest points, they represent legitimate ancestors for many people within the Maori aegis. There may also be other naming conventions for a whare. So, while the materials of the house may have no particularly tapu nature inhered, the house itself will, whether it is decorated or not. Whakairo certainly do have mana and tapu inhered, but that is a

---

<sup>313</sup> This in fact is the only type of hui listed that the author has not personally attended, although I have seen hui which involved the opening of subsidiary buildings – Whare kai, &c. I have never had the good fortune to attend the opening of a carved Whare whakairo. Anne Salmond, during the course of her research for the book *Hui* (1970-72) attended three such openings but notes that all of them were opened using church services, rather than traditional tapu-raising ceremonies. See: Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pp 70-77.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid. pp 70-77.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid. pg 40.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid. pp 39-40.

different thing entirely. Tapu raising must be approached cautiously so as not to engender bad luck or worse.

Beyond even the fabric of the house are the *decorations* of painted kowhaiwhai, woven tukutuku and most importantly whakairo (carvings) that individually represent ideals. In the case of whakairo, these are specific ancestors, spirits or people, each of which clearly transcend mere representation and specifically incorporate mauri (essence or spirit) in some corporeal form within the wooden matrix.<sup>317</sup> Every carving thus has its own tapu and this tapu should best be raised individually and the mana of each carving met on its own terms during the opening and tapu-raising of a house.

Nor does the carving or its incarnation form the entire medium of the tapu. Wood is deemed sacred to Tane, god of the forests and the mana of carvers is also transmitted or at least permeated into the wood or the carving. A violation of tapu during the process of carving can be dangerous to the carver. Carvings whose sanctity has been compromised can be unlucky or even malevolently capable of damage, physical, or worse yet spiritual; death may be the ultimate consequence. While such discussions may seem a little overwrought in the light of modern beliefs, nevertheless these are a portion of Te Ao Maori, the Maori world which must be discussed in the context of these hui, which follow Maori reasons, not those of basic modern architectural practice.

### Welcoming dignitaries

On occasion, dignitaries or VIPs, such as local or national politicians, important kaumatua or kuia, (elders) foreign visitors &c. may be welcomed on to a marae, or on to another space (which is standing in place of a marae).<sup>318</sup> While the eventual context of the hui may differ, the welcome will generally have an element of formality as the marae seeks to uphold its dignity and provide a fitting welcome, both in the manner of the powhiri provided and in the quality of the other aspects of the marae welcome, kai (food) for instance.

Some such dignitaries, the Prime Minister for instance, the Maori King or the Minister of Maori Affairs will be well-versed in marae protocol and will have been engaged in the ritual required many times. However, conflicts over kawa may still cause problems and controversy, even most famously in recent years when Helen Clark, then Leader of the Opposition in New Zealand, was reduced to tears in an exchange over whether she should speak on a marae.<sup>319</sup> The incident occurred in 1998 at Ti Tii marae, a Nga Puhi marae which lies a few hundred metres from the Treaty House and the Whare nui at Waitangi marae. As a local centre, Waitangi is a national marae, there are often hui leading up to

---

<sup>317</sup> Ibid. pp 39-42.

<sup>318</sup> Elders: Kaumatua are male elders, Kuia are female elders. Older people are highly respected in Maori society. Sometimes the term kaumatua or matua is used more generically to refer to members of both sexes. Matua also specifically refers to parents.

<sup>319</sup> A parliamentary title referring to the Leader of the Opposition (not in Government) party in parliament, that has the most Members of Parliament.

the Waitangi day celebrations which occur on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February every year. Generally however, the utmost care will be taken to ensure that the dignitaries are welcomed with grace and that all the elements of a powhiri are carefully followed.

As a formal kind of powhiri, such elements as the ritual challenge – the wero – will normally be included, where they would often be overlooked for other powhiri, even those for tangi, the most important of regular hui.

### **Semi-hui: conferences, committee meetings, socials**

In the course of the day-to-day functioning of marae, over and beyond the more ceremonial forms of hui, such as a tangi, or the opening of a building, local people continue to use their marae and various hui may take place, usually with little by way of ritual. In part, this may result because the majority of visitors are locals themselves, with a long-standing history of visiting or associating with the marae, even if they do not live on or nearby the marae precinct. Meetings may include those for the running or organisation of the marae, or social events which incorporate the wider marae community and their friends and family – often held in the Whare kai, rather than the Whare nui.<sup>320</sup> Food in these instances may simply be brought from home, in preference to using the kitchens other than for making drinks or heating food as may be required.

Conferences may be for local groups or associations wanting access to marae amenities, as a marae complex can be a very suitable venue for such gatherings providing as they do so many facilities. Alternatively, various groups or organisations of a more Maori nature, for example the Maori Woman's Welfare League, may hold local conferences at a marae for similar reasons.<sup>321</sup>

However, the less formal nature, coupled with the more secular form of the hui, may preclude any but the most perfunctory ceremony. While all the regular prohibitions will continue to apply, the sacrosanct nature of the marae may in part be overlooked.

This leads clearly to the question of whether the ceremonial involved on other occasions is more by way of show in these latter days, or does it continue as a valuable and vital part of the culture of the marae.

### **Tourist hui**

Although visitors have been made welcome on marae since well before the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand, the staging of the tourist hui has taken on both a different meaning in recent years and become more common.

<sup>320</sup> Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pp 208-9.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid. pp 208-9.

I use the phrase *tourist hui* to describe hui, where the principal purpose of the visit is tourism, and the majority of visitors are tourists, usually having come specifically to be immersed in a facsimile of Maori culture, albeit for a very brief time. Generally there will be a commercial exchange of some sort, although this may be masked as a pre-organised koha (gift).

Tourist hui are typically short, usually consisting of little more than a streamlined version of the full powhiri ceremony (detailed later in this chapter), followed by a traditional styled meal and a cultural performance. In the shortest versions even the meal may be passed over. Although the venue for many tourist hui may remain traditional marae, Nga Hau e Wha marae in Christchurch for instance has ‘A Night of Maori Magic’ hui, but other venues may stand in place of marae. A commonality remains however in the use of locations which almost entirely replicate marae, or at least utilise traditional(ly styled) buildings.

Tourism on marae has been notable for 150 years. There is interesting and notable literature regarding renowned nineteenth century visitors in particular, such as Charles Darwin and Mark Twain, who detail to some extent their encounters with Maori. While the process of the tourist hui is much the same as other forms of hui there are several significant features and differences. In the course of researching this I have attended a number of Tourist Hui, at a number of venues across New Zealand. These ranged from basic cultural performances to complete hui, lasting several hours, and are the basis for discussions in this section. The majority of these differences I would argue focus on the alien-ness of the ceremonies, at least to the external observers who comprise the majority of the tourists. Few, if any tourists, will have previously participated in such ritual and (although they likely have no point of comparison) the tourist powhiri in particular and the tourist hui in general will have been altered and diluted to produce a simpler, easier to follow ceremony. This modified powhiri, while *demonstrating* difference might not be so indefinitely abstruse and alienating as a regular powhiri, which is more absolutely immersed in Maori culture. This is not to suggest that the tourist would actually be alienated, but the assumption is clearly made by the operators that a regular powhiri with its different emphases might have that effect. Tourists are thus *transported* without being alienated.

Differences include a lack of knowledgeable manuhiri to respond to the tangata whenua, at almost any point in the hui; either a stand-in must be provided or someone must be coached on the process to follow. Other differences may be a lack of speeches, or speeches delivered solely in English, more European styled, less traditional foods and highly polished and choreographed performances, whether of the rituals or latterly, during a cultural demonstration.<sup>322</sup> In regular powhiri at least some portion of a speech is invariably delivered in Maori and even the majority of speeches. Where in

---

<sup>322</sup> Method of cooking, styles of food are different and more touristic. All of this is based on personal experience attending a number of tourist hui in Christchurch, Rotorua, Auckland and elsewhere.

a regular powhiri, these performances are likely to be spontaneous, the cultural performances during tourist hui are usually finely rehearsed, may have relatively small numbers of participants and may be readily identifiable as a show. Indeed, there will likely be an emphasis on the performance aspect of the hui, which during a regular hui would generally fall rather on the whaikorero, the speeches.

Some meeting houses have in fact been specifically used or even built for the purposes of tourism, exhibition or display as opposed to the usual functions of a house as an iconographic tribal (iwi) or sub-tribal (hapu) representation and as a literal meeting and sleeping house.<sup>323</sup>

For instance, the house at Whakarewarewa, *Whābiao*, is now, while still part of a fully functioning marae, essentially immersed in a tourist environment.<sup>324</sup> The marae has been subsumed into a cultural tourism centre which includes a carving school, geysers and hotpools, a cultural *experience* and facsimile powhiri and meals. Nevertheless, the marae itself, established as a marae and not a tourist centre, retains its original spiritual aura to some extent – although the marae atea is clearly no longer as tapu as it would be in a regular marae setting, and the main house is still used for iwi/hapu purposes on occasion.<sup>325</sup> People may walk freely all round it – a situation which is echoed at nearby Ohinemutu Marae as well. Whakarewarewa has been occupied for a long time, in the traditional sense of having a hapu (Ngati Tama) who exercised traditional rights over it. The current marae at least in parts does however date from after the Mt. Tarawera explosion, when many people relocated to the Whakarewarewa site.

In other cases, houses have become tourist houses by virtue of removal from their original environment. The house *Hau Te Ananui o Tangaroa*, currently mooted for renewed display at the Museum of Canterbury in Christchurch was displayed outside the museum for over seventy years and spent time as an exhibition house during Christchurch's 1906 International Exhibition.<sup>326</sup> Similarly, *Maatatua*, the Ngati Awa house recently returned to that iwi from the Otago Museum, is very widely travelled, having been exhibited in Australia and originating as it did near Whakatane in New Zealand's Bay of Plenty.<sup>327</sup> Although each house was designed and constructed as regular Whare whakairo, they have nevertheless become participants in the spectacle of tourism, in several different forms.

The last extent may be the specific construction of whare for tourist purposes. The two houses *Rauru* and *Te Wharepuni a Maui*, housed and stored respectively in Germany were both at least partially constructed for the European entrepreneur T.E. Donne as show houses for tourists in the later nineteenth century. Each of these houses, rather than focussing on distinct but often cryptic

<sup>323</sup> Garbutt, "Conserving the Living Object - the Conservation of Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand". pp 38-41. As detailed previously, for instance the houses *Rauru* and *Te Wharepuni a Maui*.

<sup>324</sup> A famous thermal attraction in Rotorua, in the North Island.

<sup>325</sup> Stafford, *Te Arawa : A History of the Arawa People*. pg 140.

<sup>326</sup> Walker, "The 'Maori House' at the Canterbury Museum."

<sup>327</sup> Mead, Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Awa., and Ngati Awa. Te Runanga., *Nga Karoretanga O Mataatua Whare = the Wanderings of the Carved House, Mataatua*.

ancestors (at least to a lay visitors viewpoint) include demi-gods and legendary figures that were used to illustrate Maori myths and legends. Likewise, the whare constructed in the 1960s for the Polynesian Cultural Centre in Hawaii.<sup>328</sup> The whare on Oahu is immersed in tourism; it is part of a Pacific theme village where a number of different cultures are on display. Regardless of its level of authenticity, it was not constructed for Maori purposes and for the usage of a Maori community in Hawaii, rather it was constructed and functions as a displayed whare, regularly entered and visited by tourist groups, albeit in a simulacrum of authenticity, created by using authentic materials (the whare) and people (technically tangata whenua, New Zealand Maori ‘performers’).

Such entrepreneurship has never fully died away and has undergone its own Maori renaissance in recent years, with the construction of specialist marae-styled tourist ventures in the Auckland region and most particularly in Rotorua and currently in

Christchurch. The Tamaki Maori Heritage Village in Rotorua for example was originally created after a local marae which had been the host for daily tourist shows was over-stretched and its ability to also be used for traditional marae functions was compromised.<sup>329</sup> The Heritage Village itself, while roughly replicating a marae, does not have the same spiritual overtones or functions that a regular marae would have, that is to say it could not easily be used for tangi or other such purposes as it does not



71 – Photograph by Kathrin Marks – Wero ( 2006).

This photograph, from one of the Tamaki brother's shows exemplifies not only the actual wero (the warrior places the taki (see below for a more complete explanation) but the whole process of simulation involved in the tourist hui. Would there be consequences if the challenge was not picked up? Of course not – it would simply be a breach of etiquette. Nevertheless, while the ‘warrior’ will never have fought in deadly earnest he will certainly have been fully trained and will be expert in wielding the taiaha he carries. There is an aura of latent menace.

<sup>328</sup> Te Ao Hou, Pg 41, No 49, November 1964

<sup>329</sup> Run by two brothers, Doug and Mike Tamaki. The information here is based on discussions with the Tamaki brothers.

have the same rooted tangata whenua, or the historic links which call people to it. It is a place of work in the guise of a notional marae. Similarly, while the powhiri which occur during tourist hui have a similar function and are enacted in the same manner as regular powhiri, it can be clearly argued that some element of mauri or spirit is missing, as it is a facsimile of the original ceremony, packaged, shortened and produced. It is the *air* and not the *actuality* of the ritual that is being provided, a heady whiff of Maori culture rapidly inhaled by passing strangers.

A clear argument could be made that all the houses which are on display in museums are now tourist houses and while casual visitors are the norm, several of the houses are regularly utilised for their more original purposes of hosting gatherings (hui). *Hotunui*, the house held at the Auckland War Memorial Museum is even used as the occasional venue for cultural performances and there are numerous daily performances in the Museum itself by a cultural show group. All the other houses, currently on display in museums, are of course open and available for public visitation by casual museum-goers. Service is paid to the applicable prohibitions found in regular Whare nui – no eating, no shoes, no smoking. However, these restrictions are nothing like the spiritual injunctions that swirl round a regular hui and necessitate protection from and acknowledgement of spirits, and the removal of tapu for the protection of manuhiri and tangata whenua alike. These are part of a complex negotiation to cross the threshold from the outside world and enter the sanctity of a marae, which in a museum is replaced with other, different, subtle prohibitions. These are matters which are more fully discussed elsewhere.

## DEFINING THE POWHIRI

The powhiri, or greeting ritual, is the principal ceremony of the marae that is regularly enacted and, although hui may continue without powhiri, they are the foundation for host and visitor interaction during any important or semi-ritual hui. The powhiri has numerous functions, not the least to gather tangata whenua and manuhiri to a single purpose and at least temporarily bind them together. Originally, it may be argued, the ceremonies performed a safety function, both physical and meta-physical, and in theory at least that second function has continued application. As such an important ritual, there are a number of processes, not all of which are used during every powhiri, but the longest such greetings may well last many hours.

The following section details the components, which together make up the powhiri ceremony. They are presented in the order they might follow during the course of an actual powhiri and may be summarised as: gathering; wero; karanga; haka; mihi; waiata; koha; hongis; hakari or in English: gathering; challenge; greeting; (war) dance; speeches; songs; gifts; nose-pressing/physical greeting; feasting.



## Gathering

Visitors arrive and gather outside the marae precinct. They must wait outside of any entrance and may even be asked to congregate well clear of the marae itself. The organisation of the visitors may be appropriated by either members of the local marae, or knowledgeable participants on the side of the visitors. As much of the ritual to follow is verbal, the participants are delineated linguistically as well as physically; in the parlance of the powhiri, visitors are manuhiri while the people of the marae itself are tangata whenua (people of the land).<sup>330</sup>

A hierarchy may be established in the visiting group, possibly men at the front, possibly a hierarchical ranking with the most important visitors at the front. This may vary depending on the kawa or customs of the local iwi.

## Wero - challenges

A very formal part of the stages of entrance to a marae during which the visitors are challenged by an armed warrior, this is no longer always performed as part of the ritual. But is conversely often performed during Tourist Hui, as it can be very impressive and lends itself easily to spectacle and display.

At the entrance to the marae precinct the visitors, the manuhiri, are ritually challenged, usually at the point or near the point of entry. One or more warriors from the tangata whenua will approach the manuhiri, bearing and wielding hand-weapons, generally the taiaha or short-spear, occasionally the patu (or mere), a carved hand-club. The approach is a fierce, challenging, war-dance which is physically confrontational to the manuhiri and is deliberately fearsome. A small offering or taki is placed in front of the manuhiri and someone chosen as their leader accepts the offering on their behalf.<sup>331</sup> Non-acceptance is a sign that the intentions of the manuhiri are not peaceful. If the taki is accepted, the warrior(s) retreat(s) and the manuhiri proceed to the next stage of the powhiri.

The origins of the wero are to be found in the regular inter-tribal confrontations which clearly occurred in the pre-European era and which continued to some extent until roughly the mid-nineteenth century. At its simplest a wero was a way of making an initial determination as to whether a group of visitors were peaceful, but the nuances provided the tangata whenua with useful information. Reactions to the wero could be gauged by the warrior performing the challenge and related to his people, as could numbers, weaponry &c.

In the modern era of course such functions are clearly little more than ceremonial and, as such, the wero is often reserved for the visits of dignitaries or during important hui, or marae visits. The challenging nature of the wero has taken on a different significance, as it may demonstrate the great respect of the tangata whenua for a visiting party, or acknowledge the importance of the visitors

<sup>330</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pp 118-9.

<sup>331</sup> Taki can mean literally: challenge.

when such a challenge is issued. So, while Powhiri will almost certainly incorporate a karanga (see below) to call visitors onto the marae, the wero is often dispensed with in the modern powhiri.

The taki, a special kind of offering is tied at some level to the concept of the koha (gift), and the reciprocation of utu.

### **Karanga – calls**

Simply, the karanga is a call, essentially a ritual chant, sung in a wavering, high-pitched voice by a specially trained woman (sometimes women).

There are several forms to the karanga, although the most common is one where two women, one on each side, call back and forth to each other while the manuhiri progress slowly onto the marae atea. Variations may include ritual chanting by a male on the side of the manuhiri if no suitable woman is available to make the karanga, or several women from each or either side making the karanga. According to some traditions, however, only a woman can dissipate the tapu of the marae properly.

The first call is that of the tangata whenua, signalling that the manuhiri may proceed onto the marae, the woman who makes this call is known as the Kai karanga. The responses on behalf of the manuhiri are made by the Kai whakatu. If the manuhiri are unable to provide their own Kai whakatu, normally a woman from the tangata whenua will act on their behalf, having joined their party during the earlier gathering.

Symbolically there are several explanations for the use of the karanga; its essence however is as a ritual greeting. Reference is made to the ancestors who have gone before and spirits are placated, making it safe to enter the tapu region of the marae atea. The spirits of the manuhiri and of the tangata whenua are bound or intermingled, making them as one.

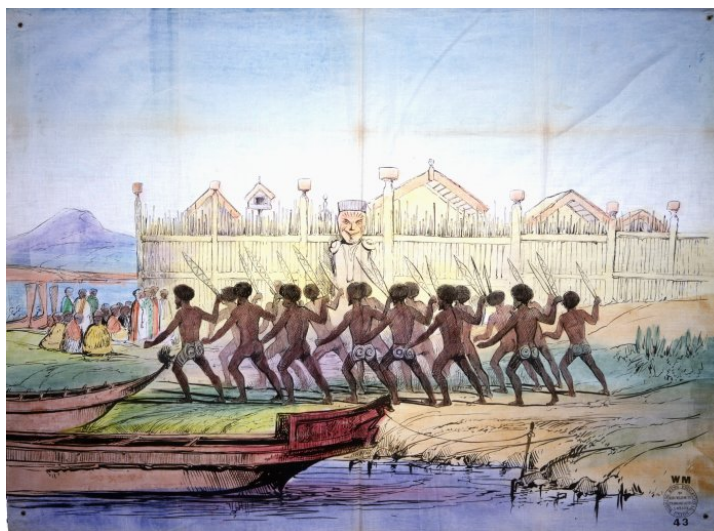
Kai karanga, the women who perform the karanga or call onto the marae, are usually highly trained in the call and in many cases will have received initial training during their youth – there may also be an hereditary element which determines who is eligible to give a call. Generally, they are older women, although in some instances, if for instance more experienced Kai karanga are unavailable, then younger women may step in.

Although the karanga itself usually adheres to a basic pattern any variations may be designed to relate directly to the visitors, both as a sign of respect and as a demonstration of the prowess of the caller. The calls that are made generally refer to the summoning of dead spirits, both those of the locals and those of the visitors, thus intermingling the ancestors of the two groups and providing a spiritual link to Hawaiki – the traditional Maori homeland and also the place to which dead spirits return. Spirits are also invoked to return to their ancestral house, the Whare tipuna, the (carved) central meeting house of the marae. Because of the (implied) presence of spirits, the atmosphere takes

on a tangibly more charged nature. While some of the ceremonies of the marae have now engaged a more Christian interpretation, it is difficult to reconcile an expectation of a spiritual presence with the Christian ethos. Comparisons may certainly be made, but these are ancestor spirits and some of them, may be related to the totemic character of the carvings and often the house itself, whose presence is central to the marae.

The presumably peaceful co-mingling of spirits might also recapitulate the equivalent intermingling of tangata whenua and manuhiri. The links of ancestry are utilised as a binding force that is put in place by the karanga and is inherent in other modes throughout the remaining portions of the powhiri. As the ancient forms are understood and enacted by both sides, a shared cultural history is evident in the modern welcome, at least when a knowledgeable group of manuhiri are arriving. However, an increasingly common alternate to the traditional greeting at a hui (of whatever sort) is the welcoming of tourists where although all the forms are understood and enacted by the ‘token’ warriors, speakers and kai karanga, the other participants are little more than bit players.

Certainly, the karanga in its modern form is little different from that of much older times, one of the elements of the marae least changed as a result of interaction with European thoughts and technology. Thus the following description, by John Nicholas from 1817, could easily describe a modern karanga:



72 & 73 – George French Angas – War dance before the pah of Ohinemutu, near Rotorua Lake (1844, above). A tangi, or meeting of friends. Mount Egmont in the distance (1847, below).

While some 160 years separate these images from the present, the manner and form in which the haka (above) and the hongiri (below) occur would be evident to even the most novice of marae goers or anyone who has seen the All Blacks contest a test match. Even the context has changed little, Maori purposes on marae remain similar to those of our ancestors, the ritual of the hui has been in large part retained.



The moment we were perceived, one of their women made a signal to us by holding up a red mat and waving it in the air, while she repeatedly cried at the same time, ‘Haromai, haromai, haromai...’ During the whole ceremony of our introduction, the old woman never ceased waving her red mat and repeating a number of words, which, according to Duaterra, were prayers exclusively designed for the occasion.<sup>332</sup>

### **Haka powhiri – (war) dances**

While haka are not strictly war dances, that is the context with which they are best known, especially as performed by New Zealand sporting teams and particularly the All Blacks, the New Zealand national Rugby Football team. While highly traditional, haka may not always be performed during the course of a powhiri. (See figure 72).

Haka are presented by the tangata whenua, and this is done both for ritual reasons and also to emphasise the martial prowess of the locals. Manuhiri may respond and so two haka, performed at the same time, in direct opposition to one another may occur. Ritual reasons may include completing the binding of the manuhiri to the tangata whenua which commenced with the karanga. As the marae atea properly belongs to the god of war Tu ma Tauenga (at least in some traditions), it is also a highly appropriate place to perform haka.

### **Mihi and whaikorero – speeches (of welcome)**

A series of formal speeches are exchanged between the tangata whenua and the manuhiri.

These speeches may take some time, depending on the context of the entire powhiri. For instance, at a tangi (funeral ritual) a very large number of speakers may talk about the person who has died. At a mihi that is simply part of a regular welcoming ceremony, there may only be a few speakers, as few as two or three from each side. The order and manner of the speeches is reliant on the kawa of the tangata whenua. Most local kawa does not allow female speakers (this is not the case with all iwi) and so speakers are generally male. Kawa in some places has all the speakers from one side first, followed by an equal number of speakers from the other side, in other kawa, the speakers are alternated. The two speaking orders, determined usually by local tikanga, are paeke, when all of the tangata whenua speak first, followed by all the manuhiri, or, tu mai (also known as tu atu or tauhokohoko) when the speakers from the two sides alternate.

---

<sup>332</sup> Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand Performed in the Years 1814 and 1815, in Company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain of New South Wales*. pp 127-8.



74 – Whaikorero – Unknown photographer. Mita Taupopoki of Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao speaking on a marae.(ca. 1915).

While by 1915, the full, formal, chieftainly clothes Mita is shown wearing would have been most uncommon, he was known for regularly wearing them and was a famous orator.

Speeches are generally only a few minutes long (not always the case) and may include some ritual – formal greetings to the visitors/locals, recognition of ancestors, whakapapa (genealogies). Speeches are often made entirely in the Maori language, although many are in English and it is common for the non-ritual elements of a speech made in Maori to be repeated in English by the speaker. Maori oratory is a highly developed art-form and fine orators are greatly respected.

Visitors to a marae are immersed in a different world than that from which they have come, where rules of conduct, reasoning and mannerisms are no longer euro-centric but rather Maori-centric and they become strangers in a strange land, at least for those who have never formally and formerly visited a marae. Yet, even for those who have, without the requisite language skills, much of the detail remains opaque and may even be deliberately obfuscated by skilful mis-translation.<sup>333</sup> All of the portions of a powhiri could be termed an ‘encounter ritual’, one which was honed before the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand and that has since adapted in part to the imposition of European sensibilities but that nevertheless maintains its original sense, seemingly most of its forms and certainly exudes its original cultural values.

The mihi section of the powhiri has thus gained in importance over time and while skilful oratory may have flourished in pre-European times, it is more likely that the skills of warriors and the inherent mana of certain visitors would have been more important in meetings between two groups

<sup>333</sup> Mentioned several times for instance by Salmond, *Hui*.

at that time.<sup>334</sup> Now, and certainly since the cessation of general inter-tribal hostilities, mihi have become in part a contest of skills between tangata whenua and manuhiri, at least during some powhiri.

The content that is used during whaikorero is a blend of ritualised structures and extemporaneous performance and speaking. Variations may occur and are likely to do so depending on the reason for a hui; a tangi for instance will lend itself to quite different content than a celebration.

Certain elements of the speech are part of the speaking tradition and forms and would therefore normally be included in most mihi, but the addition of items is at the behest of the individual speaker and demonstrates their individual skills as a speaker, as an expert in whaikorero.

Those parts of a speech that are normally included are such rudiments as a specific opening clause to call the attention of the marae to the speaker, the most common perhaps being the phrase *Tihei Mauri Ora*, that we have briefly discussed. This or another opening phrase, known as a *whakarara* clears away the words of other speakers and should hush the marae and while some speakers may stand before making this call, others may do so from their seat. Some *whakarara* may be chants lasting a minute or two, allowing tension to build. This may also be referred to as a *whakatupato*.

This is often although not always followed by another formal element, a *whakatauaki*, a saying or proverb, usually of some length. Also known as *tauparapara*, they may be chanted or declaimed in a sing-song voice, or simply recited with gusto. These are often of ancient origin and may have specific meaning to the speaker (e.g. be related to themselves or their family), may have specific meaning to those being addressed or may be related to the specific occasion. The choice made here is another telling feature of a fine speaker, as some may have a repertoire of many *tauparapara* to choose from while others may have only a few.

A simple example of a *Tauparapara* might be as follows:

Ka tangi te titi  
Ka tangi te kaka  
Ka tangi hoki ko ahau  
*Tihei Mauri Ora!*

Which might read as:

The call of the Muttonbird<sup>335</sup>  
The call of the Parrot<sup>336</sup>

---

<sup>334</sup> The whole question of the diminishment of mana related to the warrior ethos is discussed elsewhere, but certainly relates to this.

The call that is mine

Behold! There is life!<sup>337</sup>

The specific content that follows these introductory statements is likely the most free-flowing and unstructured portion of the speech; however, there is also a ritual form which is generally followed that designates both the basis for what is said and the manner in which that is expressed. This form, expressed succinctly, includes greetings to either of the visitors or the hosts (depending on which side the speaker is from) and then greetings to the dead (most particularly, ancestors), greetings to the living and then finally discussion (known as *take*).<sup>338</sup>

These greetings may be short or long but within variable boundaries they follow an archaic pattern, of using simple greeting phrases and applying them to the living and the dead, to the marae and Whare nui, and remembering both gods and places in the Maori landscape, historic, local and mythologic. While such greetings may be freely and easily translated into English, the more specific translation that occurs is actually one into the Maori aegis, and an understanding of Maori mythologic and ancestral history is essential to grasp the meanings.

As part of these greetings references may be made to designate either specific individuals or the party as a whole, also enacted using the parlance of a Maori world view, where people and parties are defined by their ancestral landscape – their *iwi* and *hapu*, but more importantly the features of the Maori worldscape to which they are bound by their birth and those of their forebears. Their *maunga*, *awa*, *waka* are literally delineated and then such details as *iwi* and *hapu* may be added. In English, the mountain (*maunga*), river (*awa*, or lake), and the canoe (*waka*) of the people, all of which supersede mere geography and rather inhabit a spiritual realm where legends and ancestors should be immediately evident to those hearing the names of the mountain and river.

In European New Zealand culture a social *value* may be imputed to an individual's standing in society, where it is ancestry that is most important to Maori, the ancestry of a person or a group may inexorably be linked to their own *turangawaewae*, their home-place. Often of course based on what job they do or even how much money they have, which is a social indicator, in New Zealand at least, reliably implying success in a job. An individual or group may garner *mana* by their ancestry amongst other Maori, as the *mihi* that is made may emphasise ties and the ancestors whose descent lines are high in *mana*. Equally however, their *place* in the Maori world is made evident to others by the geography of their ancestry which assumes a sort of ancestral topography and chart. It is fairly irrelevant to other Maori where one may currently live (at least in the context of a *mihi*) as that is not

<sup>335</sup> In Maori, Titi, also known as the Sooty Shearwater, a New Zealand native bird, edible, with a strong, oily, almost peppery taste.

<sup>336</sup> A large New Zealand native parrot found commonly in forests.

<sup>337</sup> Very common saying, this is simply taken from:

<http://www.maori.org.nz/tikanga/?d=page&pid=sp83&parent=70>

<sup>338</sup> See: Salmond, Hui : *A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pg 171, for a small chart of some forms.



your root, your turangawaewae or who you are, all of which are rather defined by your people and your ancestors, the catechism for which is the litany of maunga, awa, waka and marae.

A simple version of a mihi, might be as follows:

Ko Tarawera toku maunga

Ko Rotorua toku moana

Ko Te Arawa toku waka

It is Tarawera that is my ancestral mountain

It is Rotorua that is my ancestral lake/sea

It is the canoe Te Arawa, that my ancestors sailed on

Others might also for instance use the phrase Ko \_\_\_\_\_ toku awa, and name an ancestral river, rather than a lake. There is a reason the English translations I have used are so much longer. The Maori is actually quite succinct, so for instance *Ko Tarawera toku maunga*, might as easily be translated as: Tarawera is my mountain. However, the nuance is then lost, the whole point of the mihi is to show one's place and so the mountain is not simply a mountain, but is an ancestral place, to which that person is bound. Likewise the other parts of the mihi.

Mihi are important because they designate the place of both individuals and groups of manuhiri, by whakapapa. And while whakapapa was almost all important in the Maori world of the past, providing as it did mana and a place in Maori society, it retains a purpose in the present. The whakapapa of an individual can augment or form their mana, while for others whakapapa provides a way to relate to areas with which they might otherwise have no tangible connection, as urban dwellers returning to a traditional marae for instance. Lastly, whakapapa, like DNA, is binding, it brings separated peoples neatly together as one within reality, and a skilled orator will be able to provide whakapapa links between groups, no matter how distant. It matters little in Te Ao Maori, where the landscape is still thickly populated by our ancestors.

The physical act of speaking may be almost as important as the speech itself and its content. The process of when and how to speak, what actions are made during the whaikorero and the gestures that are used all signify the abilities of some of the finest whaikorero. Most speakers are not content to be stationary, but rather may pace back and forth. Gestures and gesticulations are made and many speakers also carry and flourish walking sticks or umbrellas, used for numerous reasons. These sticks are not necessarily used by the speaker as an adjunct to walking at any other time. These implements may simply accentuate points and emphasise gestures but their likely origins are the taiaha and other similar medium-length spears used by Maori warriors. Some sticks are carved and others go a step further and are known as Rakau korero, essentially specialist *talking sticks* which further empower the

speaker, imbued with a mana of their own.<sup>339</sup> Banks makes mention of special staffs, which he clearly differentiated from weapons:

But besides these the chiefs when they came to attack us carried in their hands a kind of ensign of distinction in the same manner as ours, or spontoons [a half-pike, often used by officers to show rank]: they were either the rib of a Whale as white as snow carvd very much and ornamented with dogs hair and feathers, or a stick about 6 feet long carvd and ornamented in the same manner and generally inlayd with shell like mother of Pearl [probably actually Paua].<sup>340</sup>

And, while the nature of whaikorero before European contact may be uncertain, certainly some of the appurtenances or representations of mana, such as carved tokotoko have continued to the present.

As a general rule, women do not speak on marae, at least off the paepae and as part of the powhiri. This is often a matter of some controversy and is generally a matter of tikanga within regions. Some areas traditionally allowed and even expected women to speak, and so their tikanga holds sway when they are the tangata whenua. There are even particular (quite famous) instances when this kawa has led to women speaking in areas where they would not traditionally do so – to some dispute. The non-speaking participation of women on the marae, as part of the powhiri is controversial in modern New Zealand society, as is the physical positioning of women when entering the area of the marae atea and particularly as seating is being organised before the commencement of the whaikorero. Or more specifically in European society – it would true to say that it is (far) less controversial in Maori society. It is typical for women to follow men onto the marae, and it is usual for men to sit in the ‘better’ seats at the front and for women to be seated in the rear. This has raised the ire of some people who look beyond the cultural impetus for this and would prefer change in a modern secular society and has even led to court cases in recent times.<sup>341</sup>

In some instances, a woman with great mana who might be expected to speak, but is unable to do so because of kawa may have a male representative who speaks on her behalf, and voices her opinions. The most common instance of this was perhaps the Maori Queen, Dame Te Atarangi Kahu, who often travelled with a speaker.

Explanations of many types may be offered for the positioning of women or almost equally their non-speaking participation in powhiri. These are possibly recent justifications as gender roles have become more of an issue in the broader community that surrounds the Maori world of the marae.

It may be suggested for instance that women are *more* important than men and thus are being protected by placement in the secondary ranks, or that women will not be speaking so it is no more

<sup>339</sup> Possibly this is what Parkinson described in the passage discussed earlier.

<sup>340</sup> Banks and Beaglehole, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Description of New Zealand.

<sup>341</sup> In the New Zealand Employment Court, Josie Bullock vs. Corrections Department.

than a matter of access. The origins for the custom however are almost certainly to do with the noa (debilitating to tapu) status of women. Women are noa, or lacking in tapu and may actually be tapu-diminishers, decreasing the tapu of the marae atea for instance by their presence. Men, tapu, may actually act as a shield that keeps the noa of the women to the rear. Likewise, a woman who does stand to speak may only be one whose personal mana is so great that that mana exceeds her naturally noa state. Such parlance, and such worldviews are of course difficult to reconcile within a modern state and such traditions, as they are challenged, may gradually be removed or modified within the vernacular of the powhiri. The use for instance of karakia, or prayers, was rapidly modified to a more Christian form (generally a Christian prayer) and away from traditional gods after the arrival of missionaries.

The other main form of speech are poroporoaki (farewells) which, although not discussed thoroughly here, are significant in both their forms: regular speeches of farewell to note a departure; speeches of eulogy and farewell during tangi, or other equivalent rituals. As with other parts of the whaikorero, poroporoaki follow conventions but allow the flourish of the individual speaker to come through, and are amongst the most moving and powerful speeches that may be heard emanating from the Paepae.

### **Waiata - songs**

At the conclusion of each speech, a waiata is sung by the speaker and supporters. In some instances only the speaker will sing. Waiata may be as simple as a ritual chant or brief song, or as complex as a long song which may include some actions or even a small haka.

The functions of waiata are several, such as relating a story, providing a relationship between the speaker and the audience or simply bonding the two groups, as many from both sides may know the song and join in the singing, but their basis is in providing the speaker with a show of support. This demonstrates that the group agreed with the speaker and is affiliated with him, or in some instances, her. Well chosen waiata will be related in some way to the speech that has been given; for instance, if the speech related a story binding the manuhiri and the tangata whenua, an appropriate waiata might be a story that recalls such an event in the past.

There is a critical element in the performance as well, insofar as the performance can reflect on the speaker. A fine performance clearly increases the mana of the speaker in some way, although the reverse is not strictly true.

### **Koha – gift giving**

A gift is usually given by the manuhiri to the tangata whenua and to a large extent this is expected. This gift typically takes the form of a voluntary gift of money although in other instances it

may consist of or include taonga (precious objects) or food. The koha will normally have been organised in advance by the leaders of the manuhiri and is provided in recognition of the hospitality that they are receiving and will receive from the tangata whenua.

In Western value systems this might be considered as an economic exchange where ‘payment’ is provided by the manuhiri for the food they will consume and any entertainment or accommodation that they will receive. However, the fundamental nature of koha is far more complex and as the level of koha is determined arbitrarily by the manuhiri without consulting the tangata whenua, the value of the koha is determined rather by what the manuhiri consider to be a fair exchange. Where groups are hosted on marae in lieu of staying at hotels for instance, or as part of a noho marae (marae visit) by a school group for instance, it is common to determine a cost for this beforehand when confirming the visit with the tangata whenua. This amount is then provided as the substantial or complete amount of the koha.

The concept of koha is related to that of utu. A koha should be an equivalent or reciprocal exchange which is balanced so that the level of koha should be roughly equal (or greater) than the cost to the tangata whenua to provide hospitality. As this may include overnight accommodation and definitely includes time, effort and almost certainly food, koha can require experience to correctly determine. Too small a koha may economically disadvantage or worse slight the tangata whenua. During certain events such as funerals (when sometimes thousands of people must be catered for over several days), or hosted events, providing gifts of food may help the tangata whenua by offsetting the provision of other parties. In large parties, many people from the manuhiri may individually contribute towards the total koha.

Aside from the nature of koha as an actual gift, the welcoming of manuhiri to a marae implies an equivalent reciprocal hospitality will be provided should the situation be reversed.

The actual procedure of offering the koha takes place usually at the conclusion of all the mihi. The final speaker, or occasionally another person who has been nominated to do so, will come forward from the manuhiri and lay the koha on the marae between the two parties. If the koha is in the form of money it is usually contained in an envelope. If the koha is food this may be detailed in a note; as the marae atea is tapu it would be unusual for food to be physically presented. A koha of taonga may be presented verbally – for instance – in a famous example of koha giving, Princess Te Puea offered the services of two carvers as koha to the people of New Zealand at the Waitangi Marae.

The Maori ideal of the gift has become famous in anthropological circles because of the seminal work on that subject by Marcel Mauss. However, despite the importance of his theorisation, Mauss is actually problematic as his understanding of the workings of both koha and utu were incomplete and in certain aspects not correct. There is a slightly tenuous basis to his comprehension; he writes based

on a single passage from interviews of a single tohunga, Tamati Ranapiri from Ngati Raukawa, translated by Elsdon Best in 1909.<sup>342</sup>

I will now speak of the hau, and the ceremony of whangai hau. That hau is not the hau (wind) that blows – not at all. I will carefully explain to you. Suppose that you possess a certain article, and you give that article to me, without price. We make no bargain over it. Now, I give that article to a third person, who, after some time has elapsed, decides to make some return for it, and so he makes me a present of some article. Now, that article that he give me is the hau of the article I first received from you then gave to him. The goods that I received for that item I must hand over to you. It would not be right for me to keep such goods for myself, whether they be desirable items or otherwise. I must hand them over to you, because they are a hau of the article you gave me. Were I to keep such an equivalent for myself, then some serious evil would befall me, even death. Such is the hau, the hau of personal property, or the forest hau. Enough on these points.<sup>343</sup>

To further complicate matters, Mauss translates this translation itself into French. I will not trouble the reader with my own (or another's) re-re-translation from the French, back into English, but there is actually little important variation from Best's text although Mauss does bring a number of (bracketed) secondary Maori terms, such as utu and taonga into play, to elaborate his own text. The process of the gift-giving described here, is of course complicated by the addition of a third party, but nevertheless should be familiar to the reader from the earlier discussions regarding the waka, *Te Toki a Tapiri*.

*Te Toki a Tapiri* was first constructed (about 1836) for the Ngati Kahungunu chief Te Waka Tarakau but was presented as a gift to the Rongowhakaata chief, Te Waka Perohuka. Tarakau received a famous cloak in a gift exchange for the waka. In 1853 the canoe was given by Perohuka to the brothers Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone of Ngapuhi. They in return gifted Perohuka a stallion which he, in turn, gave to Tarakau, the original owner.<sup>344</sup>

Although Tarakau and Perohuka were obviously happy with the original gift exchange, there must have been some clear further, unconcluded obligation, which was met finally nearly twenty years later. It was the correct and balancing thing for Perohuka to do, to complete the exchange. Nor was it

<sup>342</sup> J. Prytz-Johansen, *The Maori and His Religion : In Its Non-Ritualistic Aspects : With a Danish Summary* (Kobenhavn: I kommission hos E. Munksgaard, 1954). pg 118. Besides which, he actually takes the discussion out of context. This is elaborated by J. Prytz Johansen, who was the first to point out that Ranapiri was actually discussing hunted birds taken out of the forest and the need to provide a sacrifice, during the course of this he (Ranapiri) used the quoted story to explain the nature of that transaction.

<sup>343</sup> Elsdon Best and Johannes Carl Andersen, *Forest Lore of the Maori : With Methods of Snaring, Trapping, and Preserving Birds and Rats, Uses of Berries, Roots, Fern-Root, and Forest Products, with Mythological Notes on Origins, Karakia Used, Etc* (Wellington, N.Z.: E. C. Keating Govt. Printer, 1977). pg 439.

<sup>344</sup> Truncated from the earlier section in this thesis which discussed the history of this famous waka.

simply correct, it eliminated the possibility of mate (bad things) and certainly enhanced his personal mana. Now, while this is an example that demonstrates the efficacy of Tamati Ranapiri's original explication, the difficulty with Mauss really lies with his emphasis on the idea of the hau. Mauss, if not fixated on the hau, certainly places both additional meanings on it and connotations it simply does not have. Mauss perceives the hau as a spirit (which it is, but more on this below) which inhabits the taonga, a word meaning a valuable perhaps, but which Mauss re-emphasises to refer to the gifted object, using the Maori word within his translation into French.<sup>345</sup> Thus, he makes the conclusion that this incorporated spirit actually *enforces* reciprocal transactions.<sup>346</sup> The essential misunderstanding is really to do with the word and meaning of hau, which, while actively referring to the spirit of some things, say in the same way as we have mentioned both mauri and wairua, however has been given animation and agency by Mauss.<sup>347</sup> This is simply not the case; koha and utu are acts of pure generosity, for which there is a natural, implied expectation of reciprocity.

To return to the concept of koha, Mauss, (incorrectly) might have suggested that the act of giving would have incorporated a spiritual hau, which would require the receiver to reciprocate. Koha has over time become more of an economic transaction, partly due to hospitality having an actual rather than notional cost in these days when food is usually purchased and not grown by marae and where labour is also an economic commodity. However, the obligation remains most importantly one of mana, and the loss of mana, for not providing any koha, or for the wrong level of koha would have many repercussions, not the least of which might be shame. Hau might exist conceptually, but it is no active force, there is a passive expectation rather, and utu, over time, seeks balance.

Ultimately, at one time in the past, the redress from incurred utu (meaning in this case obligation) would have been the primary component of the exchange, overriding the consideration of the actual goods, which were arbitrary, and whose real value lay in their notional utu, and in the exchange of taonga, their value in mana. This at least has changed. There remains a cultural desire to maintain mana, but these days, the economics also clearly exist, and this is most evident during tourist hui, where the koha is no longer notional, but has a specific value, which is 'paid' by visitors for the 'hospitality' they receive.

### **The place of utu**

Utū, the notion of reciprocity, lies at the heart of all the encounter rituals between groups when entering and engaging with a marae. While the individual's encounter with the marae, the whare nui

<sup>345</sup> Marcel Mauss, *Essai Sur Le Don = the Gift : The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1990). pp 158-9.

<sup>346</sup> ———, *The Gift : Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Cohen & West, 1970). pg 161.

<sup>347</sup> Refer to Marshall Sahlins in: Alan D. Schrift, *The Logic of the Gift : Toward an Ethic of Generosity* (New York: Routledge, 1997). pp 70-83. Marshall Sahlins makes a comprehensive discussion of this misappropriation of the word hau.

and the ancestors there ensconced will be personal and individual, the reactions of the groups as they meet is on another level and may be discussed along the lines of classic communication theory.

Utu is implicitly a concept that requires a response, although that response may occur at some undefined future point. In modern powhiri and at modern hui the power of utu has been diluted, and the word itself has even become dysfunctional in popular parlance, the meaning inhered to it most often that of vengeance or retribution, rather than reciprocity. In its original sense however, positive or negative responses could be yielded from a single act. Throughout the encounter rituals that are the process of engaging on the marae, utu is displayed, insofar as for each act there must be a counter act. Balance is achieved in each instance; so in one sense, the elaboration of ritual on the marae clearly seeks balance between all the forces at work.

Balance and opposition are inherent in many aspects of the whare, so: Tangata whenua and manuhiri; living and dead; men and women; tapu and noa; outside and inside; Te Ao Marama (daylight) and Te Po (night); high mana and low mana, all of which are represented in the course of a single powhiri. Utu, the balance, may be used to seek reciprocal responses to maintain the order of things. Tied to the concept of utu, but not elaborated here is the muru, one of the now defunct forms of hui, during which redress was taken for wrong-doing. Muru, some of which lasted many days, were essentially sanctioned plunderings until such time as the balance was deemed to have been reached. These, have faded into memory and the last that took place were in the 1930s.

### **Hongi – meeting**

The hongis is an exchange of physical greetings between the two groups. (See figure 73). The hongis itself is a pressing of the noses, although this may be combined with kissing or hand-shaking. The hongis is the traditional Maori form of greeting and consists of a face to face pressing of nose against nose, in some regions a single press, in others two presses. In Maori legend Tane-mahuta, god of the forests, breathed life into the first human who he had shaped from clay, this was done through the nose and is thus related to the origins of the hongis.<sup>348</sup> A set of words also related to this is the phrase, 'Tihei Mauri Ora, loosely translatable as 'the sneeze of life', and often used to open a speech.

Most women kiss or are kissed; although the hongis is not strictly the prerogative of men alone, it is more usual for men to hongis, while women do not. In some instances a woman may specifically hongis rather than kiss in order to assert her mana. The hongis may also include a handshake which is simply the addition of the common Western form of greeting.

This penultimate stage of the greeting ceremony is the point where tangata whenua and manuhiri join as one. Hereafter, within bounds, the manuhiri are now accepted as tangata whenua.

---

<sup>348</sup> Antony Alpers and Patrick Hanly, *Maori Myths and Tribal Legends*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Longman, 1996). pg 23.



If staying overnight, baggage may be brought in and laid out in the Whare nui before the two groups proceed to the Whare kai to eat. The selection of somewhere specific to sleep can be of ritual importance. Traditionally, visitors will search for an ancestor (represented on the walls, often as carved figures) of their own, under whose protection they may sleep. As senior ancestors usually occupy the front of the whare, it may also be a question of mana to be placed in this section.

### **Hakari – feasting**

The meal or feast at the conclusion of the powhiri is symbolic in a number of ways. It signifies the return from the spiritual and tapu world of the powhiri to the regular non-tapu world; in part this is accomplished due to the profane nature of kai (food) which lowers tapu. As well, it further signifies the joining of the two groups as one. The traditional form of food would be the hangi, a meal cooked in an earth oven or umu. One of the central buildings of a marae, at least since the 1930s has been the Whare kai, a building specifically for the eating of food, for performances and usually with kitchens attached directly alongside. Thus, much food is now prepared in the kitchen, although a hangi may be laid down behind the kitchen area. In the past there were at least occasionally Whare umu, cooking houses, nearby the main houses of the marae and used specifically for food preparation and these may be referred to as kauta.<sup>349</sup>

Hangi preparation is partly variable by region. In Rotorua for instance, hangi often (even usually) refers to food that has been steamed, or sometimes boiled, using thermal vents, or a facsimile of these. There continue to be natural hot-pools where this is demonstrated, food gathered in baskets and then submerged in the boiling waters. In fact Te Arawa, the local iwi, were recognisable in the nineteenth century by their blackened teeth, the result of sulphur in the cooking water. The tourist hangi continues to use steaming as a quick, easy method to prepare large quantities of food for visitors, especially as a simulacrum of traditional foods is important to the representation of hui. The results however can be very bland and lack the smoky flavour so characteristic of hangi food. The variety of native foods when travelling is after all one of the defining aspects of tourism.

Regular hangi require some hours of preparation. A (small) fire-pit is first cleared, followed by the mounding of wood on top of which are stacked heat-proof stones. Traditionally these are rounded volcanic stones, which may be passed down within a family. When searching for them, the stones themselves are apparently discernable in river-beds at night, due to the glints of light they reflect. After these have been fired for some time and have reached an appropriate temperature, ashes are cleared away, wet sacks may be placed over the stones, followed by carefully wrapped

---

<sup>349</sup> Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pg 104.



75 – Hakari – Cuthbert Charles Clarke – The stage erected to contain the food at the feast given by the native chiefs. (Bay of Islands, 1849).

Although not discussed in the text below, feasting stages (also known as hakari), some of them much larger than this, were erected to hold and display the huge quantities of food and other goods which were eaten and distributed during hakari. Both the scale of these platforms and their shape and form are unsurprisingly, to me at least, redolent yet again of the tower structures on Hawaiian heiau.

bundles of food. These bundles are often covered in cabbage leaves. More sacks are applied, water is added to allow steaming and the whole is covered by the earth previously removed from the fire-pit. The hangi may remain underground for several hours. There is much variation on the same theme in the Pacific and I have seen a number of styles of umu, some much the same as the New Zealand hangi, others above-ground and requiring often less than an hour of cooking time. In which instances it must be said however, that the food is clearly not perfectly tender. The result is a unique combination of smoky, extremely tender food. It does however require experience to gauge many of the factors correctly – wood required, heat, water and length – and the results may be disastrous in the hands of the inexperienced. As traditional hangi are often labour intensive, they have been replaced in many instances by simpler cooking methods, roasting for instance, or by commercial smoker-steamers.

The food is prepared by cooks and assistants who then present the food and feed both the manuhiri and the tangata whenua together. Foods that are served are usually a mix of both traditional dishes and European favourites that have been integrated into the cultural vocabulary of Maori cooks. The food may include such simple dishes such as marinated raw fish (usually prepared Pacific Island

style, with lemon and coconut cream), kina (sea-urchins) and mussels (shellfish), smoked eel and other kai moana (seafood) – particularly in coastal areas – hangi pork, lamb and chicken, kumara, potato, pumpkin and cabbage. Dessert is often trifle or steamed pudding. As with so many other cultural aspects of modern Maori life, the actuality is a melange of both European influences absorbed over the preceding two hundred years, and traditional practices and values.

Lastly, there is and has been a special importance to the hakari. Food, ever valuable in Maori society, has throughout the period since European contact and almost certainly long before then been utilised to enhance mana. There are elements of the potlatch; and conspicuous consumption, or more specifically conspicuous hospitality have enhanced the mana of the hosts. As with hui, the main reasons for hakari were births, deaths and marriages – obviously most importantly those of ariki or rangatira – or the opening of special whare, but other reasons which have no little or no modern usage might include the disinterment or reinterment of bones (hahunga) and special rites for ariki. While hakari, with the basic meaning of feast has become a common word for food at powhiri, the older form was often on a different scale entirely, as William Wade, travelling in the 1840s makes clear:

I may here mention the hakari, or native feast of entertainment on extraordinary occasions. The hakari is a business of great importance in its preparation, and, in the giving, rudely magnificent ... In June 1835, I was present at a hakari, which ... was to be the last held among the Ngapuhis ... The guests, at this time, were the natives of Hokianga. The food consisted of about two thousand bushel baskets of kumaras, and fifty or sixty cooked pigs. According to native custom, this compliment would have been returned by the receiving tribe the next year or the year after ... Much more spirited and more splendid than either of these, was a feast prepared by Waharoa, at Matamata, for the Tauranga people, in 1837, thus noticed by Rev. A. N. Brown. – “They have collected for the feast, six large albatrosses, nineteen calabashes of shark oil, several tons of fish, principally young sharks, which are esteemed by the natives as a great delicacy, upwards of twenty thousand dried eels, a great quantity of hogs, and baskets of potatoes almost without number.”<sup>350</sup>

Preparation for these large-scale hakari might be many months in the making, for obvious reasons. As with other aspects of the powhiri, whether regular, or on vast scale, the process of reciprocation, the utu, is clear in the passages above. The hakari was returned, or expected to be. The scale however concerns us little here, what is important to note is the ideal of the hakari as a feast of large proportions, with elements of gifting and of utu, which in most cases these days has been

---

<sup>350</sup> William Richard Wade, *A Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand : Interspersed with Various Information Relative to the Country and People* (Hobart Town: George Rolwegan, 1842). pp 118-120.

emended really to koha.<sup>351</sup> There remains however, even after the koha, some sense of future obligation, if you have been hosted then you will be expected to host equally well or better at some future time; I do not, but Mauss would have probably perceived in that, the action of the hau.

## Conclusions

It could be suggested that the entire process of a powhiri is an encounter ritual that is designed to facilitate communications between two or more groups of strangers. It involves an introduction to the marae itself and ensures the safety of the visitors in an arena that is fraught with dangers now seemingly more metaphorical but originally both metaphysical and corporeal.

Each of the points of contact is carefully staged and enacted according to a protocol which is fairly rigidly adhered. Variation it might be supposed could compromise the encounter by giving mistaken impressions to either the visitors, the hosts or in the metaphysical sense to the spirits who pervade the marae itself, either discomforting them or indeed raising their ire. Thus, each of the units into which a powhiri may be divided may also be used as units to discuss the issue of communication between the participating groups.

Hui, are really any kind of gathering, but most usually, they are Maori gatherings for Maori purposes. This is no form of separatism, as non-Maori are almost invariably part of any hui, it is simply one of the defining characteristics of the hui. They are gatherings, which have a take, a Maori purpose, such as tangi, the Maori form of funeral for example. As well, hui are conducted along Maori lines, the manner in which they are transacted is according to tikanga, or tradition, much of which has its origination in the pre-European period. A series of steps must traditionally be followed in order for the correct negotiation of the whole hui and the most important of these steps is the encounter ritual, the powhiri, which is held at the beginning of the hui, or in some cases (for example tangi) may be held for each group of visitors who arrive at a marae.

Powhiri consist of many possible stages, the majority of which may be dispensed with when necessary, but all of which are used for important ceremonies. While powhiri are clearly different from the past, nevertheless, there is certain continuity and the powhiri remains a very traditional collection of rituals and prescribed behaviours, enforced within the culture of the marae. A truncated, modified form of both the hui and the powhiri is the tourist hui, where the process, although authentic in its actions and components, is simulated in form and has different emphases than regular hui.

Lastly, one of the most important considerations is the whole process of the negotiated and expected host reciprocation of the hui. This is defined by such Maori concepts as utu and koha, and

---

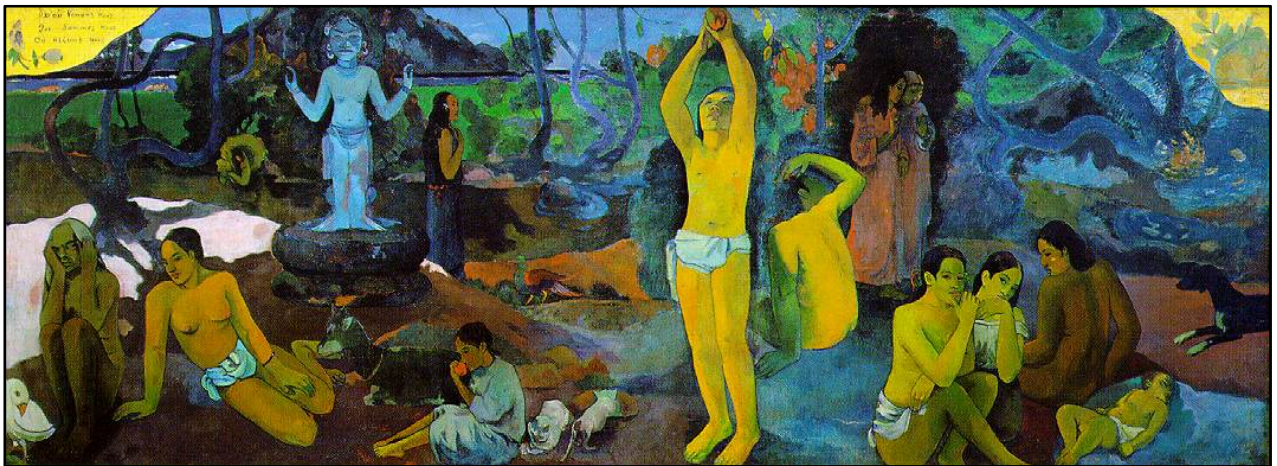
<sup>351</sup> Paula G. Rubel and Abraham Rosman, "Potlatch and Hakari: An Analysis of Maori Society in Terms of the Potlatch Model," *Man* 6, no. 4 (1971). and Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. Or in older days, potlatch. While this is not fully detailed here, both Firth and Rubel & Rosman cover the topic of hakari and potlatch thoroughly.

although hospitality (manaakitanga) is freely and unconditionally given, there is nevertheless a cultural expectation of fair exchange (utu) in this process, providing both a koha (gift) and the equivalent implied future response of return hosting.

Whether they are regarded as a set of defined ceremonies *during* a gathering, or simply gatherings in and of themselves, hui retain their importance as the centrepiece of Maori life on the marae, and as such define the place of the marae to the everyday lives of Maori, in the form of their interaction, not simply our bond to it, spiritual and historic. As has been stressed throughout this thesis, it is the interaction of people with and on the marae that fully defines it, and which really differentiates it from the common understanding of the marae as a concatenation of buildings. A marae is far more than that, it is a place of the people and for the people, and the hui is the form in which the most ritual laden interaction takes place. Equally however, it is that ritual which allows specifically the interaction between the living and the dead, who continue themselves to interact with the marae, in Te Ao Maori at least.

## Chapter Seven:

# MUTUNGA - Conclusions



**Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?;**

**TE KORE – DIVIDING THE PACIFIC: Nga Whare o nga Tipuna - Houses of the Ancestors; TE PO – REACHING AN ACCOMMODATION: Te Whare Whakaohonga - The Awakening House; Te Ara Hou - Approaching the Modern Marae; TE AO MARAMA – DIVIDING THE MARAE INTO PARTS: Nga Marae; Nga Whare whakairo – Carved Houses; Tikanga o nga Marae – Ritual on the marae; Te Whare Ora, Te Whare Puni – The Living House, the Sleeping House; Mutunga – Conclusions**

This thesis set out to be a discussion of the modern Maori marae and particularly the place it holds in the world. Over time that place has changed and likely will continue to do so. The concept of the marae it seems is amorphous. This has been after all a whakapapa of marae, and a whakapapa is the result of change over time: births, deaths and marriages. Marae were birthed, some branches or antecedents have left this coil, and there have been many marriages of form and function. It is now time to bind everything together, the true and final purpose of a whakapapa.

### Where do we come from?

It is VERY large. Even larger than I had expected. While not exactly given its own space it is nevertheless given freedom of a single wall and hangs there, a hybrid jewel of European sense and sensibilities trying to find and form a meaning out of the fabulous and exotic South Pacific. On the top left corner is an inscription in French:

D'ou Venons Nous  
Que Sommes Nous  
Où Allons Nous

Paul Gauguin has left this inscription, not only as an epitaph for the painting, but for himself and for the peoples of the Pacific:

Where do we come from?  
What are we?  
Where are we going?<sup>352</sup>

The French is more imperative than the English – nous, nous, nous: we, we, we. It is the basis for this thesis – *we* and what defines *us*. And it is the melange of culture and thought, the fact that this exquisite image – a rich, busy painting a full four metres wide and nearly two high – has also been captured and collected, that adds another layer for me, deeper even than the layers of beauty exuded from the canvas. Gauguin himself has this to say:

...I wanted to kill myself. I went off to hide on the mountain where my corpse would have been devoured by the ants. I didn't have a gun, but I had some arsenic that I had hoarded when I was sick

---

<sup>352</sup> Thus, because of the inscription, this large, brilliant painting is generally known by that epitaph: Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going? The painting is currently owned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where I have had the pleasure of viewing it – apparently it is not currently on display. Perhaps we all have a favourite piece of art and this happens to be mine.



with eczema: whether the dose was too strong, or the vomiting nullified the action of the poison by expelling it, I don't know. Finally, after a night of terrible suffering I went back to my lodgings.<sup>353</sup>

He is so feverish in his passion, his great work drawn out of him in a teeming rush:

At the time I wanted, before dying, to paint a great canvas that I had in mind, and for the whole month I worked day and night in an unprecedented fever...I put into it before dying all my energy, such a sorrowful passion in terrible circumstances, and so clear a vision without corrections, that all that is hasty disappears, and life rises up out of it.<sup>354</sup>

Better to glance at the image above, best to see the painting itself, but sometimes words may make do:

This is the explanation of the painting's subject that the artist gave us: 'On the right, a newborn child; on the left, an old woman with a bird, symbolic portent of approaching death. Between these extremes of life is mankind, loving and active. And in this terrestrial space, a statue symbolising the Divinity that is inherent in humanity.'<sup>355</sup>

It is Gauguin's testimony of the life-cycle of a Pacific People.

But this thesis is no history of Paul Gauguin, nor his exquisite, challenging masterpiece, it is a story rather about marae in New Zealand – marae these days are at their simplest a collection of buildings, some fairly traditional in Maori culture, where Maori culture may be found at its fullest. They are the theme to which we will return repeatedly. But Gauguin stands here because he was challenged by his time in the South Pacific, challenged by the Pacific peoples around him and challenged at last to ask those inimitable, almost ineffable questions: Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going? And it is these three questions which infuse this thesis and which I aimed to answer a little. They are asked of marae themselves and because the marae has become ineluctably the centrepiece of Maori culture in New Zealand, they may even metaphorically apply to ourselves (Maori) as a people.

---

<sup>353</sup> Marla and Charles F Stuckey Prather, *Paul Gauguin* (Cologne: Konemann, 1994). pg 274-5. Gauguin survived his attempted suicide and lived on for another six years.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid. pg 275.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid. pg 278.

## TE KORE – DIVIDING THE PACIFIC:

### Nga Whare o nga Tipuna – Houses of the Ancestors

There can be no doubt that one of the central themes of this entire thesis is the *ideal* of the marae. Something that had not sprung whole from the head of Tangaroa, like some antipodean Zeus, but rather, as even Maori legends neatly affirm, had come to them from elsewhere, from ancestors, from Hawaiki nui. Maui, as we have seen fishes up not only the land which Maori come to inhabit, having left Hawaiki, but an ideal of the house in which they live:

he smeared his hook with his own blood for bait, and then he cast it into the sea, and it sank down, and sank down, till it reached to the small carved figure on the roof of a house at the bottom of the sea; then, passing by the figure, it descended along the outside carved rafters of the roof, and fell in at the doorway of the house, and the hook of Maui-tiki-tiki-o-Taranga caught first in the sill of the doorway.<sup>356</sup>

The ideal of the marae is an ever changing entity – the uses of the marae continue to change, thus its place continues to change, but its roots and its form have an ancient antecedent history and the first chapters of this thesis set out to investigate that history. To lay the place of Maori and the architecture of our turangawaewae at a single table.

## TE PO – REACHING AN ACCOMMODATION:

### Te Whare Whakaohonga - The Awakening House; Te Ara Hou - Approaching the Modern Marae

The marae of today is distant in many ways from its form when first encountered by Europeans. How it reached this new shape is perhaps straightforward; it is a meld, this thesis contends, between Maori ideas and ideals and European technology. The first shift was an immediate introduction of European wood-working technology – even iron nails had been beaten out by some Maori during Cook's first visit to make implements – and thereafter axes, chisels and saws would all transform the vernacular of Maori carving.<sup>357</sup> The modifications were manifold: trees were sawed into planks rather than laboriously hacked using stone adzes; eventually wood was provided by sawmills; iron axes were used in place of adzes; the physical stance of the carver was changed when carving; chisels were used instead of stone carving tools. There were analogues to these changes: carving was much faster; faster

<sup>356</sup> Grey and Bird, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the Maori as Told by Their Priests and Chiefs*. pg 26.

<sup>357</sup> Detailed in the Chapter: Carved Houses, but directly related by Cook on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1770 in his journals: Cook and Beaglehole, *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*.

carving thus decreased the economic expense; the manner of carving changed with fewer deep cuts than before, and possibly more detail; the tapu of the wood used must be called into question, when the preparations of earlier days were elided.

These changes made it both easier and faster to produce carved work, and provided a commensurate economic impetus to patrons. Carvings of whatever sort, particularly from the mid-nineteenth century for Whare whakairo were much less expensive.<sup>358</sup> Any changes to this media or the mode of expression are important as it is the whare and particularly Whare whakairo which are the core of a marae.

The second shift was in the transformation of the Maori economy. This took several forms, some positive, such as the introduction of European crop-foods like the potato and swine and others severely deleterious, such as the advent of European diseases like typhoid, tuberculosis and syphilis, to which Maori, like other Pacific islanders, were gravely susceptible. Maori also were vigorous consumers of weaponry, which was used to restore the 'balance' of utu, but which in reality would cause tens of thousands of deaths spread over decades. Lastly, settlement, land sales and land confiscations, from 1840 onwards transformed the status of New Zealand to that of genuine colony, as Europeans soon outnumbered Maori, in part due to a dramatic decline in the population of Maori.<sup>359</sup>

Over time these changes meant that the traditional Maori lifestyle would be lost forever. Pa as functional defensive structures were entirely mitigated and generally abandoned by the 1870s, peripatetic kainga were obviated by better food supplies and eventually Maori moved from primary production for themselves to paid employment, typically at the behest of European employers. The focus of fine, patronised production changed from war economy (waka) to pataka and then solely to marae, particularly Whare whakairo. Maori ceased living in pa.

The third shift was the introduction of European thought and exemplars. Initially with very few Europeans and their over-proportionate importance, some larger whare may have been built specifically to accommodate such visitors. Later, colonial churches and halls were examples of an architectonic form which could be emulated by Whare whakairo. Commensurately, the neat European villages described by visitors and consisting of permanent houses on a single site was an example of what would become the Maori norm as well. At a micro level, Maori art was also ineluctably transformed as awareness of perspective crept into carving, and carving itself was altered by becoming an actual commodity, valued in money rather than mana and with a notional transactional exchange rate, rather than the implied acts of reciprocation of the past.<sup>360</sup> At the same

---

<sup>358</sup> So for instance the relatively inexpensive payments and the demands made on Anaha Te Rahui by Augustus Hamilton.

<sup>359</sup> By about 1853.

<sup>360</sup> As detailed in the Chapter: Approaching the Modern Marae, but discussed in: Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pg 194.

time, the concepts of tapu and noa, the essence of traditional Maori life, lost much of their original meaning and significance, and in many instances were modified or replaced by Christian values.

These changes meant that Maori carving became self-reflexive or at least thoroughly self-aware and artists needs must *replicate* the style that was its natural form, thus for some time Maori carving ossified.<sup>361</sup> Original ritual was replaced by ersatz forms of the same rituals but calling on Christian religious beliefs as its basis, something which is confusing when regarding rituals, which retain old word-forms but which today have a different fundamental meaning to most people.<sup>362</sup> Lastly, the physical marae was formed or reformed: a stationary village setting; segregated specialised buildings for the use of the entire hapu; a tapu marae atea area; an unoccupied specialised Whare noho – possibly carved. These, this thesis argues, are the basis for the modern marae and are the efflorescence of the buds that originated in the older Pacific and which were finally flowering here in New Zealand.

It is not possible for us to tell what would have occurred to the basic idea of the marae if Europeans had never reached New Zealand. It is however possible for us to conclude that part of the unique form and manner of the modern Maori marae is owed to European technology and ideas, which have been utilised for Maori purposes and blended in most instances. In other cases, such as the interposition of new religious forms, it would be true to say that Maori have been and are complicit in their replacement of the central tenets of the old atua. It is also clear to see, that the Maori marae was fully formed and came to be what it now is, during the period since European colonisation. It is the only form of marae which has survived and flourished and its unique anatomy is part of that survival. It is less actively religious, has a more community focused aspect and its crux is a central house, none of which were particular hallmarks of the now defunct marae of other cultures. Certainly the Maori marae has religious or ritual aspects, but it has many secular aspects as well. The secular facets are often its main recourse for usage and these are saturated by the ritual that alludes to the sacral nature of the marae. The secular activities, according to tikanga or tradition, may only be carried out after ritual has been transacted.

So, the European inceptions within the marae may perhaps be summarised as: larger scale of buildings than pre-contact; use of European technology during wood-working; introduction or knowledge of European artistic styles and philosophies; use of European engineering forms for the structure of houses; use of the marae as an economic enterprise.

While the Maori portions of the marae remain essentially: retention of sacral areas, particularly the marae atea and the tapu whare; use of marae for sacral reasons, such as tangi; trans-generational

---

<sup>361</sup> Maori art until recently has seldom been valued for any experimentation, but rather for its preservation of a form and style linked to a particular, now vanished episteme. Western collectors were not interested in modernised versions, but ones which appeared *authentic*.

<sup>362</sup> Neich, *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving*. pp 153-4. Salmond, *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. pp 70-7.

relationship with the marae; use of ritual to transect boundaries on the marae – both physical and meta-physical; continued use of Maori artistic forms and philosophies.

Lastly, the conceptual archetype of the patron has changed over time. Originally, while the marae was clearly a hapu based entity, the central house, the Whare nui, was initiated by singular patrons, rangatira or ariki employing Tohunga whakairo rakau. Even the houses created or completed for Augustus Hamilton in Rotorua – *Te Wharepuni a Maui* and *Rauru* fall comfortably into this categorisation. However, the economic changes summarised above, coupled with the modification of the status (if not the actual mana) of tribal leaders meant that patronage would over time fall out of the hands of individuals and become the responsibility of (entire) hapu.

It is this accommodation of the two cultures, this melange of the two worlds of Te Ao Maori and Te Ao Pakeha that has forged the modern Maori marae and which continues to do so. The marae of the nineteenth century was a gradually changing entity, it remains amorphous and continues to adapt as necessary here, in the twenty-first century.

## TE AO MARAMA – DIVIDING THE MARAE INTO PARTS:

### Nga Marae; Nga Whare whakairo – Carved Houses; Tikanga o nga Marae – Ritual on the marae

The marae as it currently exists can be partitioned in diverse ways. Some of these ways lie along the forms of opposition inherent to Te Ao Maori, some of which include: Tangata whenua and manuhiri; living and dead; men and women; tapu and noa; outside and inside; Te Ao Marama (daylight) and Te Po (night); high mana and low mana. These are ideals of *opposition* however – not conflict, but obverse participants in a single frame. Other partitioning, however, uses other fractal lenses to provide a different view. Thus, the marae may be subdivided into the way it is formally used (hui), how those uses may be approached (via gateways) and the physical components that comprise the marae.

It is the hui that is the main formal function of the marae. Marae do function non-formally of course; they are after all used on a daily basis in many instances. Besides which, they have a certain figurative role, the marae acting as a turangawaewae and the house representing the prestige of the local hapu for instance. It is however hui which define the place of the marae for either its hapu (traditional marae) or simply tangata whenua (urban marae). It is one of the contentions of this thesis that the marae is defined by its usage, it matters not where a marae is, what median it occupies, what medium is used as the basis for its fabric or the mode of its history – what matters is its current occupation. Broadly speaking however there is a clear cleave between urban and traditional marae and fractally there is an equivalent rift between *conserved houses* and *traditional houses* – what this thesis

introduces conceptually as Nga Whare Ora and Nga Whare Puni – Living Houses and Sleeping Houses.

Likewise, hui, or gatherings can be segregated by their constituent types and then further by the stages of the ritual greetings and farewells (powhiri and poroporoaki) which signal the ingress and egress from a marae during a hui. The classic work discussing the hui is the eponymous *Hui* by Anne Salmond and her typification of these events stands over thirty years after her book was written, with little modification. Salmond specifies: Tangi, Kawe Mate, Unveilings; Weddings, 21<sup>st</sup> Birthdays, Anniversaries; Church gatherings; King Movement gatherings; Opening of marae buildings; Visits by Minister of Maori Affairs, and lastly, Semi-hui – Conferences, committee meetings, socials.<sup>363</sup> This thesis however introduces the idea of another form of hui, increasingly common on a variety of marae, the tourist hui. Indeed, the tourist hui – whether it occurs on a marae or a facsimile of a marae – is probably the most common vector of interaction between non-New Zealanders and Maori cultural forms. It is also possibly true that the majority of non-Maori New Zealanders also encounter marae only or primarily in the conserved situation of museums or likewise via tourism. This may seem remarkable, and is only my conjecture, but shows something I feel of the continued separation between Te Ao Maori and that of the very Western secular society of New Zealand. The tourist hui has become an increasingly important interface as marae seek to produce revenue and as tourism over time becomes more important to the greater economy of New Zealand. Maori culture is after all one of the unique features of this country. Thus, the simulacrum of the marae is born, a simulation of marae-ness, with a replica of the powhiri or greeting ceremony. The replication is truncated on many levels – so for instance simulated marae might not be used *except* for tourism – their sole take becoming tourism, or they may be a genuine simulation, representing a type of ideal marae from a mythic past. Likewise, retro-engineering likely will occur to the ritual of the greetings and emphasis will be placed on portions which may otherwise rarely occur.

A full powhiri consists of the following elements: Gathering; wero; karanga; haka powhiri; mihi/whaikorero; waiata; koha; hongiri; hakari.<sup>364</sup> But only on particular occasions will every one of these sections take place. Because not all hui are created equal, the more formal the occasion or the greater the mana of those arriving on a marae, the equivalently complicated the powhiri. The truncated tourist hui however has other concerns and the more spectacular and more convivial elements of the hui are thus emphasised, over the more formal, alien and arcane elements. Wero, haka and hakari thus become central, but to the diminution of the mihi and whaikorero. This is simply another simulacrum; the powhiri, while retaining its powhiri-ness, is also a diminished likeness; smaller, less potent.

<sup>363</sup> As noted in the Chapter on Tikanga, I have modified this category in my own discourse to include visits by any dignitary.

<sup>364</sup> Gathering; challenge; call onto the marae; war dances; speeches; songs; gift giving; meeting/nose pressing; feasting.

While any hui may be important, the tangi, or mourning ceremony takes precedence and as a general rule is the most elaborate, with specific rituals – often repeated with modification – taking place over several days. Ironically, this process of farewelling the dead is further evidence in my division between Living Houses and Sleeping Houses. Marae and houses in conserved situations are not used for hui in the same manner as *traditional*, or even most *urban* marae. Conserved houses, retained as part of a participant spectacle in museum spaces are clearly unsuitable for the rendition of tangi, both no doubt in the eyes of the curators *and* the potential hapu.<sup>365</sup> Even some houses (such as that at Waitangi) which are arguably liminally interposed between these two house-types are clearly unsuitable for such usage. It is a difficult contention, but notionally remove the house from the conserved setting, re-erect it, and its take or purpose changes. There is a clear re-vivification in this instance, the hui may be more suitable and it becomes a Whare Ora, a Living House again. The purposes of the house are tied into its usage and that usage is bonded with the people who interact with the house. So a conserved house, bounded by curators and an endless string of *observers*, is neither prepared nor able to be fully used according to the cline of its original intent. The house has become reposed, sleeping, less potent in some ways.

Powhiri are certainly the most common rituals enacted on the marae, while others, such as the ceremonies used when opening a new whare may occur only once. The marae however is a place steeped in ritual. It is therefore one of the main contentions of this thesis that there are numerous dimensions to the marae, some physical others metaphysical, with ritual pertaining generally to the metaphysical dimensions. To interact correctly with those different layers and levels, the forms of Te Ao Maori must be used; otherwise, the transaction will at the least be diluted and may even result in the violation of tapu and the consequent dangers that may entail.<sup>366</sup> The regard of the house may fall on the violator. Tapu is the basis of Te Ao Maori, not in the same manners, articulation and extent as in pre-European Maori culture, but it is certainly still an active part of the living marae.<sup>367</sup>

Many of these rituals and the tapu that surround them occur or take place in specific circumstances; however some are innate to the marae, or have been woven deep into its fabric as part

---

<sup>365</sup> There are no support facilities. Even if there were, the houses are clearly at least partly disassociated from their originating hapu and lastly, they have been subsumed into museum settings and are part of an ongoing spectacle. The tapu of a tangi would be significantly compromised by groups of casual, non-participant *observers*.

<sup>366</sup> Refer within this thesis to the story of the Whare, *Rauru*, for instance or Reimar Schefold describing the effect of the regard of Indonesian houses falling on him.

<sup>367</sup> Powhiri are a form of ritual and are carried out for any regular greeting. Beyond a basic powhiri there are only more complex levels of ritual. Early descriptions, as well as mentioning details of powhiri, also refer to other actions on the part of Maori that would no longer generally take place: the intervention of tohunga for instance, sacrifices or other forms of invoking tapu. Tapu, if not as potent in the same ways as it once was, is still however the arbiter of boundaries on the marae, producing non-physical barriers of all kinds: between what is said and unsaid; between where you may walk, eat and drink or not; between how you may act and not. See for instance: Mead, *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. pg 216, for a discussion of tapu in modern Whare tipuna.

of its construction, construction on many layers, both physical and metaphysical.<sup>368</sup> This is discussed fully in the Chapter on Whare whakairo, while some tapu is generated *at* the marae, for instance by the presence of a body, or the invocation of ritual, other tapu *becomes* innate to the marae as a result of the way it has been constructed. The marae atea, a sacred or at least tapu zone is one of the innately tapu regions, but Whare whakairo are sacred in other ways and that is a constructed tapu. This thesis makes the assertion that there are four components to this construction: the mauri of the originating trees; the imbued mana or mauri of the carver; the ritual element in the completion of the whare; the personification of ancestors or atua in the carving. Roxana Waterson, when referring to Indonesian houses discusses their vitality and this is a similar concept certainly to the animation that can be claimed for Maori Whare nui, and particularly Whare whakairo.<sup>369</sup> The ancestors in the house are living another life and are in some sense apertures between two of the oppositions of Te Ao Maori: the world of the living and the world of the dead – Te Ao Marama and Te Po. But this animation is not natural; it is, I contend, a vitality that is brought to fruition by the tender gardening of the Tohunga whakairo rakau, or in these latter days the carver. It is the carver who imbues a large part of the essence. They add themselves not only with the identifiable fingerprints of a European artist, in this case by imprinting form and style physically into the wood, but also with the zanshin (Japanese: spirit) that may be found in Japanese art.<sup>370</sup> This spirit/zanshin is overlaid lastly with the transcendent dimensionality of mauri, spirit that intrudes into our world directly from another living dimension, at least according to the Maori purview. It is an unanswerable question, but do the whakairo of now carry the same mauri they once did, or has that also diminished as Tohunga whakairo rakau have become over time carvers?<sup>371</sup>

The oppositions that we have discussed are the essence of transecting marae. Two groups meet on the marae, the locals and the visitors, and each – but particularly the visitors, the manuhiri – must follow pathways that run between gateways. While literally, physically, existing, these pathways also run a less corporeal route. So, while all the participants

---

<sup>368</sup> Discussed above. The type of hui and the people who are taking part (or more specifically their level of perceived mana) dictate exactly what parts of a powhiri are used and also if other ritual elements are incorporated into the ceremony. At a house opening for instance there may be several additional rituals, though not in the same way as described in the Chapter on Whare whakairo of course (human sacrifice).

<sup>369</sup> These are claims made in the course of this thesis. Most discussion in related literature regarding whare is concentrated on their 'symbolic' representation of ancestors and does not actually clearly acknowledge or even allude to the interjuncture into a living realm which Waterson refers to regarding Indonesian houses and which I refer to regarding Whare whakairo.

<sup>370</sup> While it is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss zanshin as fully as it deserves, I argue that it is an important artistic concept that bears a strong resemblance to the living spirit of Maori carving. Unlike most European art (arguments could of course be made that icons, material religious objects such as host goblets and some other religious art manifest spiritual aspects), Japanese art philosophy allows room for the addition of 'spirit' in the 'object'. This is derived originally from the artist.

<sup>371</sup> Unanswerable but unlikely – the carvers of today seldom follow all the old rules of tapu and probably have few of the innate beliefs of two hundred years ago.



in the drama of the powhiri must progress along usually quite prescribed routes, it is that other ineffable thoroughfare that really is more important. That is the transection of tapu, whether simply the tapu on proscribed behaviours or the tapu that flows from having atua so close to Te Ao Marama, there on the marae. Thus the importance to Maori of gateways – both waharoa and pare – the former both representing and warding the transition from the outside to the inside of the marae, from a temporal existence to a more spiritual realm. The latter, the pare, representing and warding the transition from the world of light to the world of darkness and our tipuna, our ancestors. While ancestor carvings are potentially appurtenances of that world into our own, the waharoa and pare are certainly apertures, their function reliant on the ability and belief of the guide to activate them completely. It is after all the humanity of the marae which defines it. Waharoa and pare may be merely gates to the unknowing, but to the cognoscenti and the receptive they are portals to another living world.

To the Western eye at least, I think it is no exaggeration to say that the Whare whakairo carved houses are art, and savage art at that. Certainly, some educated few perceive other notions and engage Maori 'art' on other levels, but the reality is that much Maori carving transcends the notion of art and rather should be perceived as beautiful inter-dimensional constructs. They inhabit more than the mundane three and even four planes of our existence, existing as: three dimensional carved representations; as trans-temporal vessels of mana; (but in the case of certainly some whakairo) they are re-vivified ancestors, filled with mauri (their own spirit) and interjacent between their own domain of being and ours. This world of spirits is not within the aegis of Western theorisation, cannot be bound by Western words and might be thought of by the sceptical as a cultural reliquary; nevertheless, it exists and it is beyond the selva of this thesis at least to call it into question.

The Western eye – and of course this thesis is richly endowed with the ability to cast that eye over my own cultural heritage – can and does however see other things sharply. Thus, it becomes clear that the Whare whakairo is an elaborate system of communication to those who can interpret it, although realistically that number is few. Carved ancestors are represented anthropomorphically but their attributes are divined in many ways. Accoutrement for instance, are used: to iterate a well known story linked to a particular figure; carvings may replicate actual moko (tattoos); hands may grip weapons, toki or other signs of good chieftainship; specific patterns may be used to relate a story; words may be scribed into the wood. The essence is that the story is told on many layers, carefully fabricated by the Tohunga whakairo rakau, understood by most as an *image* of a tipuna or atua, by some fewer as a particular ancestor and by the smallest number, for the specificities understood by the carver – amongst which the details and the nuance of the ideal representation. While a mere thousand words might suffice for a picture, these whakairo would require an order more.

## Te Whare Ora, Te Whare Puni – The Living House, the Sleeping House

Marae, this thesis has contended, may be divided into three broad *types*: traditional marae; urban marae and conserved marae. Certainly, there are marae that are intersticed between these definitions and which may perhaps fit into more than one category – but as a rule all marae belong here, or belong there. My definitions are straightforward.

Traditional marae are those marae that have grown to fruition in form since the European colonisation of this country, whether their actual history be old or not, their features might include: relationship to a particular hapu or iwi; likely have an urupa; locals may occupy nearby houses; trans-generational relationship with tangata whenua; used for any kind of hui.<sup>372</sup>

Urban marae, however are: usually (very) recent in provenance; cater for members of multiple hapu or iwi; are generally assembled in compact spaces and may have no attached living areas (whare: houses) or areas for the dead (urupa: cemeteries); may have a relatively transitory tangata whenua; may also be affiliated to another organisation (often schools or universities).

In some instances entire marae have been subsumed into the local cityscape and appear to have become urban marae, which nevertheless, such marae are not. In passing I have used the term *urbane marae* to describe them, that is, marae which retain all of their original features but which are now surrounded by houses.

The third category are what I refer to as conserved marae, these are: whare (houses) removed from their original situation; stored or re-erected in a non-Maori domain, but creating a new marae ‘space’; are (or have been, or will be) open to the public in some manner; have no attached living zones; have a ‘constructed’ tangata whenua; are not available for the entire range of hui.

This category, the conserved marae of course is greatly outnumbered by the number of traditional and even urban marae but its importance is amplified rather than diminished by the role these marae play in participating most actively with non-Maori *observers*, typically museum visitors. Of course, it is one of the central tenets of this thesis that the marae is shaped by its usage and that usage is shaped by the people, but certainly, the position in space of the actual marae must help determine this to some extent. The conserved marae discussed in this thesis and currently on display are: *Te Hau ki Turanga* and *Rongomaraeroa*; *Rauru*; *Ruatepupuke II*; *Hinemihī*; *Hotunui*.<sup>373</sup> Others have been mentioned in passing, but are not currently on display, while others again fall close to this category.<sup>374</sup>

<sup>372</sup> Although obviously some particular hui ‘types’ such as kingitanga movement gatherings are actually unlikely to take place outside of the Tainui region. In place of those gatherings however are the more recent iwi gatherings to discuss issues such as Waitangi tribunal settlements, which have a not dissimilar Maori socio-political basis.

<sup>373</sup> *Te Hau ki Turanga* and *Rongomaraeroa*, at Te Papa in Wellington, NZ., *Rauru* at the Hamburg Museum of Ethology in Hamburg, Germany. *Ruatepupuke II*, at the Field Museum, in Chicago, USA. *Hinemihī* at Clandon Park, Surrey, UK. *Hotunui* at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland, NZ.

<sup>374</sup> This is not strictly true, *Rangitihī* and *Hau te Ananui o Tangaroa*, at respectively Auckland Museum and Canterbury Museum are both largely in storage, but have some of their component whakairo on display. As well, there is another display marae in Hawaii, at the Polynesian Cultural Center run by the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter Day Saints. This was erected in 1963, the whare being specifically carved for the Center and never used as a

The marae in a conserved space is greatly truncated and at every one of those levels that we have elaborated – both their physical space and at least some of the additional dimensions that they occupy. Each of the whare on display are now sole buildings and have none of the attendant whare that might regularly provide additional facilities for hui – Whare paku for instance or Whare kai.<sup>375</sup> As well, their physical space, particularly the marae atea, has been diminished, the only variable here being how much total space has been allotted by the individual surrounding institution.<sup>376</sup> This diminution makes the function of any kind of hui more difficult – more particularly for some whare rather than others, but none of these marae hosts the full range of hui. Yes, powhiri are staged at several of them but the primary current function of these whare is that of display.<sup>377</sup> The small marae and the whare have become large objects – if anything the largest physical displays possible at any typical museum.<sup>378</sup>

It is this modification in function which partly explains the sub-categories that I have coined for whare that reside on traditional and urban marae, and separately for those which inhabit conserved marae. Nga Whare Ora – Living Houses and Nga Whare Puni – Sleeping Houses. The former continue their lives unabated, while the latter are currently slumbering. The difference with Nga Whare Puni is not their physical situation, although that presents difficulties in every instance, but rather in their usage. Nga Whare Puni have been conserved and are currently less *actualised*; the rituals that awaken them and activate the mauri of the slumbering atua I contend are neither sufficiently regular nor sufficiently complete to fully awaken them. Their tapu and their mauri however remain intact and would, this thesis has conjectured, be re-awakened fully if they were re-erected on traditional marae and used regularly as was their inception. Not an inception simply as places for hui to occur, but for those other take: as vast Waka huia to store tribal mana; as a carved genealogy; as an interface between Te Ao Marama and Te Po; as the interjacency of ancestral mauri into this world,

---

traditional whare in New Zealand. I have specifically excluded it from this thesis as I argue it is a tourist marae, and not a traditional whare which has been reconstructed in a conserved domain. Its *take* was clearly different right from its inception. This is discussed elsewhere in this thesis in more detail. The claim could also be made for *Te Wharepuni a Maui*, but that is currently inarguable as well because the house is in storage, at this stage indefinitely. Lastly, some marae such as Waitangi fall very close to this category.

<sup>375</sup> It could be argued that museums do actually provide those facilities, but obviously those are not exclusive nor part of the specific domain of the enclosed marae.

<sup>376</sup> At least making the assumption that when originally erected each house had a reasonable space around them, much like any traditional marae.

<sup>377</sup> *Rongomaraeroa* is in fact set up to cater for powhiri at least. There is a processional pathway (actually two, one for 'women', one for 'men') to the 'marae atea', a large-scale waharoa, and a space for the powhiri function. These however are all mitigated by the clearly non-sacral nature of the open space, the non-traditional whare and the physically intrusive signage. *Hotunui* and *Ruatepupuke II* are both provided with fairly large marae atea, but the same issues just enumerated must also apply.

<sup>378</sup> In fact the only larger single display I've personally seen amongst over a hundred museums is the Saturn V rocket reposed at the NASA centre in Florida. Perhaps rivaling these whare, physically smaller, but in a much larger space than any of the Maori whare is the Temple of Dendur, from Aswan in Egypt, found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

both that of the imbued spirits and that of the original Tohunga whakairo rakau.<sup>379</sup> It is not that they lose these facilities while conserved, but these possibilities are un(der)utilised. In part, these replicate the take of individual carvings, but scaled to a greater size in every way. If these ideals sit uneasily in the Western construct then so be it, these are not constructed realities. To use the analogy of the Christian church again, it is as though an iconic church had been fragmented, then re-erected amongst pagans where it was worshipped for its pretty glass and bright, coloured pictures. When reconsecrated amongst believers its meaning would be similarly and figuratively resurrected; the innate holiness of the relics would have remained intact if unappreciated, what had been missing was a belief in the power of the objects, what might be referred to as faith.

While the usage of the marae and the people who use a whare may change its seeming meaning, the whare's original potency, this thesis has argued, remains intact, constituted as it was during the course of its original construction. Thus Whare Puni, houses reposed on conserved marae are inert. Whare Ora however, on traditional and urban marae, may vary in usage but are fully activated. Although some urban (or other) marae may not play host to every type of hui, they are nevertheless used not for display purposes or as representations of ideal marae, but rather for the daily needs of their individual tangata whenua. Tourist marae – and there are a gradually increasing number of these – are certainly interstitial. Some may be in everyday use solely as tourist houses, and while not fully conserved like those houses inhabiting museums, they are nevertheless participants in a Western spectacle, albeit stealthily covered in a Maori guise, the truncated tourist hui, the truncated tourist powhiri.

## Mutunga - Conclusions

D'ou Venons Nous? Que Sommes Nous? Où Allons Nous?:

Who are we? Where do we come from? Where are we going?

This conclusion was couched at the onset in French, we re-write that in English and the irony of this should not be lost on the reader – where is the Maori in all that? The Maori however has never abated, it has simply been washed anew in the waters of European culture and technology – I hesitate to say civilisation – to find a fresh form, the modern Maori marae. Distinct, unique, modern but steeped in old ritual, ideals and manners.

This thesis has asked questions about marae and also the representation, the literal embodiment that the marae has become of the way of being of Maori, of Te Ao Maori, of the Maori world.

This thesis has argued that the modern Maori marae had a long precedent history. The first evidence of this is the lengthy history of Maori ourselves, as we clearly did not originate in New

---

<sup>379</sup> Waka huia: Treasure boxes. They do of course retain and continue to store mana, even while conserved.

Zealand but at some point voyaged here as colonists from some other place, what Maori conjecturally refer to as Hawaiki. The modern evidence for this may be found in bones, in words and in deed. The deeds are the marae itself and other like cultural evidence, the ways of doing things and the manner in which our art and architecture are cloaked in forms that relate directly to similar art and architecture on other Pacific islands. Our words show a linguistic history that stretches into our origins, far from New Zealand's littoral and relate us lexically to both our forebears and to other islanders – our fellow Polynesians and more distantly the consanguineous Austronesians. Our bones are perhaps the most exacting evidence of all, at least to the modern electronic eye, because we are genetically related as well.

Where did we come from?

We came from other Pacific islands, and before that from Asia. Our house forms came with us, as did our words for those things and our ideas about their meaning and we adapted them to suit the new climate. Not simply the chill realm that New Zealand is when compared to other Pacific places, but the difficulties of being a lonely few in a great place, and later, the difficulties of being a hungry many.

Our re-entry into the great external sphere was illumined by the European enlightenment, but brought fully to us by Victorian colonisation, colonisers who, along with Maori ourselves, would come to believe they were smoothing the pillow for our tapu upoko, our sacred heads, as our people withered, our numbers decimated each passing decade. Meanwhile, the marae re-cloaked itself, emerged from the pa and the kainga of the past and melded with European technology, thus: the carvings of old were transformed by using European tools; the European style of house, hall and church became an exemplar of design; the ideals of Western art modified the actual perspective of the Maori artist; and the religious and secular ideals of colonials tempered and transformed Maori belief in the power of tapu. Tapu was thus obviated from daily life, but maintained in the final bastion of Maori living, the marae.

In the twentieth century, faced with the flux of Maori from 'rural' to urban pastures, first there was a re-nascence of the marae at the behest principally of Sir Apirana Ngata and latterly, the creation of the urban marae. These were both steps to bring Maori back to marae, but also to return the marae to the people, nga tangata. What had the marae become? Over time it had become several things, rather than the religio-political complex of other Pacific islands or the living spaces and defensive militaria of the Maori people, although it had most of its origins in each of those things. It became a living space for some people, but its focus turned inwards again from a created space redolent of those earlier temple complexes, the tapu marae atea. Sequestered behind this was ideally the Whare whakairo, and nearby the other buildings, each with separate functions, that allowed a marae to serve

new purposes beyond daily living; the needs of a people no longer necessarily engaged in primary production but for whom there was a continuing need for ritual and gatherings.

Ritual and gatherings are two of the ideal take of a marae. People gather, mingle, become one, washed together by ritual, cleansed of tapu by ritual, and become a single water at least for a while. The marae however transcends even the people. Partly because some portion of it exists on another plane, that of atua, and partly because it has trans-temporal aspects which allow it to live on, even as mokopuna become kaumatua and slowly weary, then age and eventually shuck off their flesh and flit onwards to Hawaiki, themselves becoming tipuna atua, ancestral spirits. Our houses represent *us* by solidifying our ancestors, by representing our mana and by providing us a place to be. These are the fourth and higher dimensions of the marae the greater take of this turangawaewae.<sup>380</sup>

Who are we?

The question is answered in the call of the kai karanga, in the words of the whaikorero, in the lustrous eyes of our tipuna whakairo rakau (carved ancestors); we are Nga Tangata Whenua, the people of the land. No longer the wide cloudy land of all this island nation, but a more compressed territory. The marae atea *is* that land, a little piece of earth that is a stepping stone to other ambits, that is a footstool to the people that is a place to stand and wait a while and *be* – a turangawaewae.<sup>381</sup> The marae is the focal point for Maori societal interaction that allows Maori people to behave in a more Maori way than would be conceived usual in the philosophies of the secular, clearly Western world of daily New Zealand.

So, the modern Maori marae has been born, or re-born and it is amorphous and multifarious, cleaving into two main types according to most analyses, the traditional and the urban but here we have acknowledged another division, the conserved marae – those that have been altogether partitioned and now are themselves housed, swallowed and consumed inside the groaning bowels of museums, some of them a half a world and a whole Ao away.

Where are we going?

We journey into the other places that the marae leads us. The interjacency between our world and that of our tipuna is thin on the marae, a subtle, ineffable, veil at times, which negotiated incorrectly may even be dangerous, but negotiated correctly leads us to another place. In the prosaic world, the marae remains a fluid, amorphous entity that has adapted to vast change and will continue to do so. In Te Ao Maori, it is the portal finally, and every tangi may attest this, a portal ki Hawaiki Nui,

<sup>380</sup> By which I specifically mean that the house as well as existing in three dimensions also exists over time, and lastly intrudes into further metaphysical realms as well.

<sup>381</sup> Turangawaewae: A place to stand, a place to exist, a footstool.

Hawaiki Roa, Hawaiki Pamamao.<sup>382</sup> It is our past and our present and our future all bound together with us. The marae is of us. The marae is us.

---

<sup>382</sup> A traditional saying, which means: to great Hawaiki, long Hawaiki, far distant Hawaiki. It is often used in poroporoaki or farewells for the dead.





## Appendix One:

### Glossary of Maori and Pacific Island terms

Some conventions used in the course of this thesis.

Compound names for things and people are separated from common usage by the application of an initial capital letter, so for instance Whare whakairo, when referring to carved houses, but simply whare, when a particular *type* of house is not being referenced. Another instance of this might be Tohunga whakairo rakau, but tohunga elsewhere. Types are often separated throughout this thesis, wherever a compound word is involved, so for instance Whare puni, and not Wharepuni, or Pou tokomanawa, rather than Poutokomanawa. This is to aid recognition of the different types, but is a common convention in any case and concatenation makes the base word less visible. When a compound word is used in a title, capitals are used to commence every word, for instance Chapter Five: Whare Whakairo.

The word marae is used both to refer to New Zealand Maori marae and ALSO to refer to marae of whatever type on other Pacific islands – usually as is made clear in this thesis, there is a dramatic difference between the two forms, but the word remains the same.

Some Maori words, such as *take* and *pare* are clearly identically spelled to words in English – this may lead to a little confusion. A definition of a Maori word used is always given on first use and is generally dispensed with thereafter. In some instances however, additional definitions may be added later, or if a word is used rarely, definitions may be re-used to aid recognition.

Maori does not have a plural indicator when words are shown in isolation, so for instance whare may mean house or houses (plural). Contextually however the reader should be able to discern where a plural is required. I have NOT used the sometimes English convention of adding an 's' to Maori words, thus Maoris or maraes do not appear in this thesis. In Maori, plurals are sometimes indicated by the use of Te (singular) or Nga (plural) for 'the' – in which case, the Maori words may be coupled, so for example: Te Whare, or Nga Marae.

Ahi ka – Traditional occupation. To ‘keep the homefires burning’. Maintenance of ownership.

Ahu – Maori: Sacred mound, Rapanui: Base for moai, sacred stone covered platforms.

Ahurewa – Indoors sacred area. Specialist sacred building used by tohunga.

Ara – Pathways, roads.

Arae – Cook Islands Maori: Marae.

Ariki – First born or senior chief/chieftainess, higher level of Maori aristocracy (see: rangatira), high chief.

Atua – Gods, spirits, ancestors.

Awa – River or sometimes lake, often used during mihi to describe ancestral water regions.

Hahunga – The removal of flesh from bones or preparation of bones as part of the burial process.

Haka – (War) dance.

Hakari – Feast, meal.

Hangi – Maori style of cooking, usually using an umu, or earth oven, sometimes by steaming or boiling.

Hapu – Sub-tribe, large extended familial group, descent group.

Hare moa – Chicken houses – stone buildings used to keep chickens on Rapanui.

Hare paenga – Elite houses – generally fairly elaborate stone houses for the aristocracy on Rapanui. Boat shaped.

Hau (1) – Wind(s)

Hau (2) – Spirit(s). Similar to mauri. See also: wairua.

Heiau – Hawaiian temple complex.

Hei tiki – Anthropomorphic stone figures (usually greenstone), ranging in size from a few centimetres to as much as 20 centimetres in length. Believed by some to represent foetuses, these were high value items.

Himu – also known as *tumu*, the principal posts used in a stockade, often carved.

Hongi – Pressing of noses, usually used in traditional greeting.

Hue – Gourd. See also: taha.

Hui – Gathering, meeting, assembly.

Huka – Foam, froth, snow.

Hura kohatu – Unveilings, display of headstones a year after interment. Also known as Hurahanga kohatu and Whakara kohatu.

Ika – Fish.

Iwi – Tribe, groups of related hapu, descendants from particular waka, large descent groups, traditional occupants of particular regions.

Kahu – Cloak. See also: korowai.

Kai – Food, to eat.

Kai karanga – Female greeter on marae, summoner for tangata whenua.

Kai moana – Seafood, traditional seafoods.

Kai whakatu – Female responder on marae, responder to the kai karanga on behalf of the manuhiri.

Kainga – Village, local area.

Kaka – Native New Zealand parrot.

Kanohi wera – Cooks, Maori: hot faces.

Karakia – Prayer.

Karanga – Call, cry, summon.

Kaumatua – Elders, senior locals, often used for males and females, see also: kuia and koroua.

Kauta – Cooking area, kitchen or cook-house, see also: Whare umu and Whare kai.

Kava – Plant, the root of which is prepared, then used as the basis of an earthy tasting, intoxicating drink – used through much of the Pacific, but not by New Zealand Maori as the plant was never (successfully) introduced.

Kawa – Way of doing things, tradition, particularly local. Originally, particular kinds of ceremony.

Kawe mate – Bringing back the dead, special ceremony for the absent dead.

Kingitanga – The king movement, actions to do with the king movement, particularly in King Country, the Waikato and Tainui.

Kiore – New Zealand Maori rat, *Rattus exulans*. The Pacific rat.

Koha – Gift, reciprocated act.

Kohanga reo – Language nest, Maori language centres for pre-schoolers.

Kokowai – Paint or stain, made from oil (usually shark or fish oil) and red ochre. Simulated now with red paint.

Koro(ua) – Elders, particularly old men, see also: kaumatua and kuia.

Korowai – Cloak. See also: kahu.

Kowhaiwhai – Decorative painted patterns, used particularly on rafters, often with meanings.

Kuia – Elders, old women, see also: kaumatua and koroua.

Kumara – Sweet potato – brought as a foodstuff to New Zealand by Maori.

Kura – High school, place of learning, school.

Kuri – Extinct New Zealand Maori dog.

Luakini – Hawaiian temple complex dedicated to the god Lono.

Mahi – Work.

Makutu – Curse, bewitchment, ill luck.

Mana – Prestige (see more complete definitions in central thesis).

Manaakitanga – Hospitality.

Manawa – Heart, aorta.

Manuhiri – Visitors, visitors to a marae.

Maori – Constructed term referring to the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand, the Maori language.

Marakihau – Sea monster.

Marama – Daylight, light (not dark), the moon.

Marae – Complex of Maori buildings. Polynesian temple complex.

Marae atea – Usually tapu space in front of a Whare nui. Sacred courtyard.

Mate – Death, dead, deceased.

Maunga – Mountain, particularly sacred mountain. Often used during mihi to describe ancestral mountains.

Mauri – Spirit, essence, life-force. See also: wairua. See also: whatu.

Mere – Hand club, flat and heavy, used in combat – particularly when made from pounamu. See also: patu.

Mihi – Recitation of genealogy.

Moa – Extinct native New Zealand birds, some of very large size.

Moai – Carved stone figures from Easter Island.

Moana – The sea.

Mokomokai – Preserved heads, usually with moko.

Mokopuna – Grandchildren, young people.

Morae – Cook's spelling of *marae*, to describe temple complexes in the Society Islands.

Motu – Islands, islets, small islands in atolls.

Muru – Sanctioned raids to balance a wrongdoing or transgression.

Ngakau – The heart, the centre.

Noa – Not tapu, profane, deleterious to tapu (see more complete definitions in central thesis).

Noho – Accommodation, to stay over.

Noho marae – To stay at a marae.

Nui – Large, great, big.

Ora – Living, alive.

Pa – Fortification site, enclosed protected village.

Paepae – Speaking area. Covered area for speakers.

Paepae (2) – Low wall or threshold at the entrance to the Whare nui.

Pakeha – European, non-Maori.

Pare – Door lintel, usually mounted above the entrance to a Whare nui, usually carved.

Pataka – Food storage house, often suspended on posts. A treasure house.

Patu – Hand club, flat and heavy, used in combat. Usually stone or bone, sometimes wood. See also: mere.

Paua – A mollusc, *Haliotis iris*, Abalone.

- Pitau – Type of prow of canoe. Features two large pitau spirals and a main figure leaning forward at its front.
- Po – Night, darkness, death.
- Poroporoaki – Farewell, farewells, valedictions.
- Pou – Post, pole, support post.
- Pounamu – Nephrite jade, greenstone.
- Poupou – Carved ancestor figure from the interior of a Whare whakairo.
- Pou tokomanawa - Second, central or main support post. Broken down into component Maori words it means something like: Pole supporting the heart.
- Powhiri – Greeting ceremony on a marae or elsewhere.
- Puaha – Hole or opening. Also: puareare.
- Puareare – Hope or opening. Also: puaha.
- Pukana – Ritual challenge. Faces pulled in the challenge; often seen during haka.
- Puku – Stomach, belly.
- Pumanawa – (alt. Pu manawa) innate skill(s) or talent(s).
- Puni – Sleeping place, barracks.
- Rahui – Protective injunction; placing of tapu over a thing, person or area.
- Rakau – Wood, wooden, stick, pole, staff.
- Rakau korero – Maori: Talking sticks. Usually short sticks, often carved that may be used by orators to emphasise their speeches. See also: tokotoko.
- Rangatira – Chief/chieftainess, main level of Maori aristocracy. See: ariki.
- Raro – Outside.
- Reo (also Te Reo) – The Maori language, Maori, other languages.
- Ringaringa wero – Challenge.
- Ringawera – Cooks – particularly on a marae, Maori: hot hands.
- Roto – Lake, swamp. Inside.
- Rua – A hole. The number two. A grave. Pits used in tuahu.
- Rua kumara – Pits for storing kumara during the winter months.
- Runanga – Schools, academies, centres of training and learning.
- Ta-te-kawa – Dedication ceremony for a whare.
- Taha – Gourd. See also: hue.
- Tahuhu – Backbone. Ancestry. Backbone or ridgepole of a whare.
- Taiaha – Staff weapon with a pointed end, usually about two metres in length, made of wood or sometimes bone.
- Taiapa – Fences, barriers, obstructions.
- Take (1) – Purpose – particularly a reason for gathering at a hui.

Take (2) – Discussion – during whaikorero.

Taki – Offering, in the context of the powhiri ceremony, placed in front of the manuhiri during a wero. Can mean literally: challenge.

Tane – Man, male, men's.

Tangata whenua – Locals, particularly inhabitants of a particular marae. People of the land, the Maori people.

Tangi (also Tangihanga) – Funerary ceremony (not service), usually held on a marae.

Taniwha – Monsters, often found in deep water, for example lakes and rivers. Also: tanewha.

Taonga – Precious things, treasures, sacred objects.

Tapu – Sacred, under restriction, protected (see more complete definitions in central thesis).

Tara – Vagina.

Tau iwi – Outsiders, non-Maori.

Tauihu – Prow of a canoe. See also: tuere, pitau.

Tauparapara – A proverb or saying, often used during whaikorero.

Te Ao – The world.

Te Ao Maori – The Maori world, the Maori way of doing things.

Te Ao Marama – The world of light, the world in which we live.

Te Ika a Maui – Maori: the (great) fish of Maui. The North Island. See: Te Wai Pounamu.

Te Po – The night, darkness, the underworld. The world of the ancestors. See also: Hine nui te Po.

Te Reo – Language, the Maori language. See also: Reo.

Te Wai Pounamu – The South Island. Maori: The greenstone waters. Possibly a corruption of Te Wahi Pounamu: The place of greenstone. See: Te Ika a Maui.

Te Waka a Maui – Maori: The canoe of Maui. Alternate name for the South Island.

Ti rakau – Cordyline australis, the cabbage tree, Ti tree.

Tihei Mauri Ora – Ritual greeting or speech opening, roughly: the sneeze/breath of life.

Tikanga – Tradition, custom, customary way of doing things.

Tikitiki – Top-knots (in hair).

Tipuna/Tupuna – Ancestors, elders. Often refers to the honourable deceased.

Titi – Native New Zealand bird, also known as Sooty Shearwater and Muttonbird.

Toa – Warrior, brave person. To be brave.

Tohunga – Priest, sorcerer. Specialist, expert.

Tohunga whakairo rakau – Wood carving expert/priest.

Toiere – Canoe prow. See: tuere.

Toki – Adze, usually made of stone. Ceremonial adze, occasionally made of pounamu.

Toko – Sacred poles or rods, used in ritual. Also: Pole, support or stilt.

Tokotoko – Walking stick. Often used by orators to emphasise parts of their speeches.

Toroa – Albatross.

Tuahu – Sacred sites, often with god-figures in the form of stones, mounded earth and toko, or sacred poles.

Tuere – Type of prow on canoe, featuring a small head, small spirals and manaia. Also called: Toiere.

Tukutuku – Woven patterns, often in large panels, usually flax, often used as decoration or as figurative panels between poupou in Whare whakairo.

Tumu – also known as himu, the principal posts used in a stockade, often carved.

Turangawaewae – Home-place, point of origin, a place to stand. A footstool.

Umu – Earth oven.

Upoko – Head.

Urupa – Burial ground, cemetery.

Utu – Act of reciprocation, seeking balance. Vengeance (see more complete definitions in central thesis).

Waewae – Feet. Shoes.

Waharoa – Gateway – particularly the entrance to marae or formerly to pa.

Wahi tapu – Sacred areas, particularly in a pa. Burial Place. See also: tuahu, ahurewa.

Wahine – Woman, female, women's.

Waiata – Songs – especially when sung as part of a powhiri, or after speeches.

Wairua – Spirit. Soul.

Waka (1) – Canoe.

Waka (2) – Confederation of tribes affiliated to a single canoe, thus for instance: Te Arawa.

Waka huia – Treasure box.

Waka taua – War canoe, also Waka toa, Waka toiere.

Wananga – School, university, place of learning. Previously, particular school for tohunga.

Wero – Challenge, particularly during a powhiri.

Whai kawa – Opening ceremony, especially for a Whare (whakairo).

Whaikorero – Speeches – particularly during powhiri or other ceremonies.

Whakairo – Carvings, carved things.

Whakaohonga – Awakening, waking up.

Whakapapa – Genealogy, list of ancestors.

Whakarara – An opening phrase, used during whaikorero, for instance: Tihei Mauri Ora! See also:

Whakatupato.

Whakatauaki – Proverb or saying, often used during whaikorero.

Whakatupato – An opening phrase, used during whaikorero, for instance: Tihei Mauri Ora! See also:

Whakarara.

Whanau – Family, extended family. Genealogical group smaller than a hapu.

Whao – Chisel.

Whare – House.

Whare hui – Meeting house.

Whare kai – Dining hall, dining room.

Whare noho – Sleeping house, accommodation house.

Whare nui – Great house (see: nui).

Whare puni – Sleeping house.

Whare runanga – Meeting house.

Whare tipuna – House of ancestors.

Whare umu – Cooking house, oven covering.

Whare whakairo – Carved House.

Whatu – Stone containing the mauri of a pa. Sacrificial victim in whare. Sacred stone swallowed by tohunga during their initiation.

Whenua – The earth, the land. Afterbirth.

Wiwi – Tussock grass.



## Glossary of Maori house terms

Amo – Carved figures at the front of the house, one on either side, supporting the maihi.

Epa – Carved figures at the ends of a Whare whakairo, usually ancestors occasionally other figures such as monsters.

Heke – Rafters. Maori: ribs.

Kowhaiwhai – Decorative painted patterns, used particularly on rafters, often with meanings.

Korupe – Door lintel, usually mounted above the entrance to a Whare nui, usually carved. Also: pare.

Koruru – Gable mask.

Kuwaha – Entrance, doorway. Alternately: Kuaha. Also: whatitoka.

Mahau – Porch.

Maihi – Decorated facing boards at the front of a house, along the roofline leading from the gable.

On the house, they may refer to the ‘arms’ of the house.

Manaia – Beaked figure used in whakairo, may represent bird-men, birds, or be simply half-faces – or faces in profile.

Mangopare – The Hammer Head Shark: a pattern used in kowhaiwhai.

Mangotipi – The White Pointer Shark: a pattern used in kowhaiwhai.

Matapihi – Window.

Paepae – Board along the front of a whare. Speaking area. Covered area for speakers to wait, rest or speak.

Pare – Door lintel, usually mounted above the entrance to a Whare nui, usually carved. Also: korupe.

Patiki – Flounder. A diamond shaped tukutuku pattern.

Pihanga – Window.

Pitau – Carving pattern. Perforated spiral pattern used on canoe prows.

Pou – Post, pole, support post.

Poupou – Carved ancestor figure from the interior of a Whare whakairo.

Pou matua (1) – Parent posts. Name for the pole/s in pa walls, the tops of which were carved with tumu, or himu figures.

Pou matua (2) – Support post/s along the sides of traditional whare, on the outside.

Pou mua – Front support post (mua: front, forefront)

Pou tahuu – First support post. Also: Poutauhu i te roro.

Pou tokomanawa – Second, central or main support post.

Pou tuarongo – Rear support post. Also: Poutauhu i te tungaroa.

Poutama – Stairway to the sky: A pattern used in tukutuku.

Puhoro – Speed and agility: A pattern used in kowhaiwhai.

Purapura whetu – Myriad Stars: A pattern used in tukutuku.

Raparapa – End parts of the maihi, often heavily carved. On the house, they may refer to the ‘hands’ of the house.

Roro whakamahau – Porch support post.

Tahuhu – Ridge post – running the length of the house.

Takarangi – A carving pattern. To reel or stagger. In carving, a spiral form that has gaps through it.

Taowaru – A carving pattern. Raised notches.

Tekoteko – Carved figure at the cable of the house – usually a three-dimensional anthropomorphic figure.

Tukutuku – Woven patterns, often in large panels, usually flax, often used as decoration or as figurative panels

Waewae – Door jambs. Also: whakawae.

Waharoa – Gateway – particularly the entrance to marae or formerly to pa.

Waharua – A carving pattern. Double mouth – shaped like two reversed chevrons.

Whakawae – Door jambs. Also: waewae.

Whatitoka – Entrance, doorway. Also: kuwaha.

## Maori gods, demi-gods and legendary figures

Hatupatu – Ancestor from the Rotorua region, mentioned in several stories, particularly one to do with a bird-woman.

Huitemaanui – Figure seen by Ruatēpupuke when he is searching for his son in the ocean.

Hine nui te Po – Goddess of the night and of death. Maui's grandmother.

Kahungunu – Eponymous ancestor, from the East Coast of the North Island. Son of Tamatea, brother of Whaene. A renowned diver.

Kupe – Legendary ancestor and in some legends, discoverer of New Zealand.

Maui tiki tiki a Taranga – Demi-god, famous in a number of legends, including the fishing up of the North Island (Te Ika a Maui), the slowing of the sun and an attempt to end death.

Manuhiri - Ruatēpupuke's son in the legend regarding the origin of carving.

Ngatoroirangi – Te Arawa and Tuwharetoa ancestor. A famous tohunga who voyaged on the original canoes from Hawaiki.

Papa – Also papatūānuku – the Earth Mother. Older goddess who is the earth. Mother of a number of gods, including Tane, Rongo, Tu, Tangaroa and Tawhiri. See also: Rangi.

Rangi – The sky father. Older god who is the sky. Father of a number of gods. See: Papa.

Rongo – God of cultivation.

Ruatēpupuke – East Coast ancestor, famous in some legends for bringing carving to Te Ao Māori.

Takitumu – Eponymous canoe, in some legends captained by Tamatea (Arikinui).

Tamatea – East Coast ancestor – a famous giant. Father of the brothers Kahungunu and Whaene.

Tamatekapua – Te Arawa ancestor, captain of the Arawa canoe. A famous ariki. Features in a number of legends, including the use of stilts in Hawaiki.

Tane mahuta – God of the forests, premiere Māori god.

Tangaroa – God of the seas.

Tu ma Tauenga – God of war.

Whaene – East Coast ancestor. Brother of Kahungunu and son of Tamatea.



## Appendix Two:

### Maori Waka

The lists here are from Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) in 'The Coming of the Maori'. The dates given were based on genealogical tables and were calculated at an average of 25 years per generation to reach those figures. The separation into different fleets is based on Maori legendary details from different regions. However, both the dating and the canoe groupings have been discredited by more recent research. These are really only provided here as an indicator of the different Maori waka, and to elucidate some part of their story in the context of Maori oral history.

#### Discoverer of NZ:

Yr-AD	Waka	Commander	Tohunga	Departure	Landed at	Settled
925	<b>Matahorua</b>	Kupe	-	ite></EndN	Whanganui-a-tara (Wellington)	Hokianga-nui-a-Kupe (Hokianga)
925	<b>Tahirirangi</b>	Ngake (Ngahue)	-	(Hawaiki)	Whanganui-a-tara (Wellington)	Hokianga-nui-a-Kupe (Hokianga)

#### Moriori (Rekohu - now Chatham Islands):

The First settlers were descended from Te Aomarama and Rongomaiwhenua (Moriori for Sky Father & Earth Mother)

Yr-AD	CANOE NAME	Commander	Priest	Departure Point	Landed at	Settled
1200	<b>Rangi Houa</b>	Te Rakiroa	Te Honeke	Wheteina tribe (Hawaiki)	Smashed against rocks on N.coast of Rekohu	Rekohu
1200	<b>Rangi mata</b>	Mihiti	Rongopapa	Wheteina tribe (Hawaiki)	N.Coast of Rekohu	Rekohu
1250	<b>Oropuke</b>	Moe	-	Rauru tribe (Hawaiki)		Rekohu
1350+	<b>Tane(Tanewai?)</b>	Kahu	-	Rangitikei River (NZ)	Kaingaroa or Tuku, Rekohu	left for Aotearoa

**First Maori Settlement NZ:- (East & West Coast Wananga)**

Yr-AD	CANOE NAME	Commander	Priest	Departure Point	Landed at	Settled
-	<b>Kahutara</b>	Maruiwi	-	(Hawaiki)	Ngamotu (near New Plymouth)	Taranaki
-	<b>Taikoria</b>	Ruatamore	-	(Hawaiki)	Ngamotu (near New Plymouth)	Taranaki
-	<b>Okoki</b>	Taitawaro	-	(Hawaiki)	Ngamotu (near New Plymouth)	Taranaki
-	-	Pananehu	-	(Hawaiki)	Tamaki	(Hawaiki)
-	-	Pohokura	-	-	-	(Hawaiki)

**Second Maori Settlement of NZ:- (East Coast Wananga)**

Yr-AD	CANOE NAME	Commander	Priest	Departure Point	Landed at	Settled
1125	-	Whatonga	Turahui	Pikopikoiwhiti	Rangiatea (Ra'iatea Is)	Left for Hawaiki
1125	-	Toitehuatahi (Toikairakau)	-	Pikopikoiwhiti	Rarotonga (Cook Is)	Tamaki Makarau (Auckland Isthmus)
1125+	<b>Kurahaupo</b> (Te Hawai)	Whatonga	Mahutonga	Pikopikoiwhiti	Rarotonga (Cook Is) Muriwhenua (North Cape)	Moharuru (Maketu)
1126+	<b>Kurahaupo</b> (Te Hawai)	Whatonga	Mahutonga	Whakatane (NZ)	Turanga (Poverty Bay)	through Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington harbour)
-	<b>Tahatuna</b>	Manaia	Te Aowhaingaroa	Whaingaroa (Hawaiki)	Mana Is (off Wellington coast)	
-	<b>Te Aratawhao</b>	Tamakihikurangi	Hoaki	Whakatane (NZ)	Marutairangaranga (Hawaiki)	returned on Matatua canoe
-	<b>Horouta</b>	Kahukura (Toi's canoe)	Rangituroa	Whakatane (NZ)	Huiakama (Hawaiki)	returned during period of Fleet

\* *Kurahaupo* & *Orouta* canoes went to Hawaiki and returned to NZ with the 'main' fleet.

**Third Maori Settlement of NZ:-**

Yr-AD	CANOE NAME	Commander	Priest	Departure Point	Landed at	Settled
-	<b>Te Mamaru</b>	Pou	-	-	Rangiaohoa Peninsula	-
-	<b>Araiteuru</b>	-	-	-	wrecked in Moeraki, Nth Otago, South Island	-
-	<b>Motumotuahi</b>	Puatautahi	-	-	Whanganui	-
-	<b>Pangatoru</b>	Rakewanangaora	-	-	Whanganui	-
-	<b>W(h)akaringaringa</b>	Mawakeroa	-	-	Whanganui	-
-	<b>Ringauamutu</b>	Tamatearokai	-	-	Whanganui	-
-	<b>Tairea</b>	-	-	-	Whanganui	-
-	<b>Arikimaitai</b>	-	-	-	Patea	-

1125	<b>Rangi-Matoru</b>	Hape	-	-	-	-
1225	-	Pae-rangi	Paoa	-	-	Whanganui
1225	<b>Nukutere</b> ( <i>whale</i> )	Paieka	-	-	Ahuahu (Gt Mercury Is)	Whangara

\*Paieka came to NZ riding on the back of a whale, Nukutere

Yr-AD	CANOE NAME	Commander	Priest	Departure Point	Landed at	Settled
*1350	<b>Horouta</b>	Pawa	Kiwa	-	Ahuahu (Gt Mercury Is)	through Turanganuiokiwa (Gisborne harbour)
*1350	<b>Kurahaupo</b>	Popoto (or Te Moungaroa?)	Ruatea	-	Rangitahua (Kermadecs)	through Auckland Peninsula
1350	<b>Te Ririno</b>	Potoru	-	Mahaena	Boulder - Bank on Nelson coast	-
1350	<b>Aotea</b>	Turi	Te Kapuatoro	Mahaena	Rangitahua (Kermadec Is)	through Nth of Kawhia, Aotea (Raglan harbour)
1350	<b>Mataatua (toroa)</b>	Toroa	Tamakihikurangi	-	Whakatane River	through Northland
1350	<b>Tainui</b>	Hoturoa	Rakataura	-	near Maketu	(on the shores of Kawhia Harbour)
1350	<b>Pukateawanui</b>	Ruaeo	-	-	Ngapuna River?	-
1350	<b>Te Arawa</b>	Tamatekapua	Ngatoroirangi	-	Bay of Plenty,	through Maketu, Ngapuna River
1350	<b>Tokomaru</b>	Whata	Rakeiora	-	Bay of Plenty (BOP)	and then Mokau River
1350	<b>Takitimu</b>	Tamatea-ariki-nui	Ruawharo, Te Rongopatahi & Tupai	Pikopikoiwhiti	Whangaparaoa, Awanui	through Tauranga and Murihiku (South Is)
1350	<b>Karaerae</b>	Tamatea (Tamateapokaiwhenua)	-	Waiau River (NZ)	through Whanganui River,	on to Taupo
-	<b>Mahuhu</b>	Rongomai	-	-	Whangaroa to	Kaipara Heads
-	<b>Mamari</b>	Nukutawhiti	-	-	Hokianga Heads (N.Auckland)	-
-	<b>Te Ruakamea</b>	Te Uriparaoa	Papawi	-	Mangonui	-
-	<b>Waipapa</b>	Kaiwhetu	Wairere	-	Rangiaohia (Doubtless Bay)	-
-	<b>Te Riukakara</b>	-	-	-	Whangaroa	-
-	<b>Moekakara</b>	-	-	-	near Whangarei	-
-	<b>Te Wakatuwhenua</b>	-	-	-	near Cape Rodney	-
-	<b>Kahu</b>	Kahuti	-	-	-	-





## Appendix Three:

### List of Images

Unless specifically stated otherwise, all photographs used are those of the author, reproduced here. That includes the image which is the frontispiece to Chapter One. All historic images used have been reproduced from documents found at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, with the exceptions of: Figures 19, 20 and 21, all of which are from the British Library collection, and Figure 24, which is from the State Library of New South Wales. Figure 13 is reproduced from Stephen-Chauvet, *L'île De Paques Et Ses Mysteres*, while Figure 14 is an image from the British Museum. Figures 50, 51 and 52 are reproduced from Roxana Waterson's brilliant, *The Living House*.

1 – George French Angas - Motupoi Pah and Roto-aire Lake ; Tongariro in the distance (1847).	44
2 – George French Angas - Tu Kaitote, the pah of Te Wherowhero on the Waikato, Taupiri Mountain in the distance (1847).	47
3 – George French Angas – Domestic sketches (1847).	47
4 – Maori wooden carved gateway and wooden figure carvings at Ohinemutu. (ca. 1910).	50
5 & 6 – George French Angas - Te Heuheu's old pa of Waitahanui at Taupo Lake. (top, 1847)	
Photograph by the author of carved figures at the British Museum Storage facility (above, 2006). Tumū figures can clearly be seen here atop the large posts on the stockade. Also, the huge scale of some pa can be seen by the distance the palisades reach along the lake-shore (top).	51
7, 8, 9 – Canoe shaped altars. Antoine Chazal, Tombeau, Idoles [Tomb, Idols] (top, 1824); Joel Polack, Cemetery or wai tapu in the River Hokianga (middle, 1838); Sydney Parkinson, An Ewharra no Eatua, or House of God. (Tahiti, July 1769).	55
10 – William Hodges - Tonga Tabu (Tongatapu) or Amsterdam. (1774).	58
11 – William Hodges – War Canoes of Otaheite. (Tahiti) (1774-5)	58
12 – Sydney Parkinson – A war canoe of New Zealand, with a view of Gable End Foreland. (1770).	60
13, 14, 15 –Hare paenga; Waka huia. Stéphen-Chauvet - dwelling in the form of an overturned canoe (top, 1935). GF Angas, Ornamental carvings in wood (1847).	64
16 – John Webber – The Hippah (1777).	72
17 – Sydney Parkinson – A New Zealand War Canoe (1770).	75
18 – Sydney Parkinson – A New Zealand War Canoe (1770).	75

19 & 19a – Sydney Parkinson – Portrait of a New Zealand man (1769) Photograph below by author.	78
20 & 20a – Sydney Parkinson – Portrait of Otegoowgoow (1769) Photograph below by author.	78
21 – Sydney Parkinson – Three Paddles from New Zealand (1769).	80
22 – Sydney Parkinson – Hippah (1769).	81
23 – James McDonald – Alarm in a Maori Pa (1906).	81
24 – Isaac Gilsemans – Murderers Bay (1642).	84
25 – George French Angas – Maketu house at Otawhao Pah, built by Puatia, to commemorate the taking of Maketu (1844).	92
26 & 27 – Photographs by the author – Auckland War Memorial Museum <i>Te Toki a Tapiri</i> and <i>Te Puawai o Te Arawa</i> (2005-6).	98
28 & 29 – Photographs by the author – Pacific Island Churches, Rarotonga and Samoa (2005-6).	101
30 – Photograph by author – Kohupatiki Marae – Hawkes Bay. (2004).	111
31 & 32 – Photographs by the author – Paepae (2006).	112
33 & 34 – Photographs by the author – Gateways (2005-6).	113
35 & 36 – Photographs by the author – Urban marae (2006-7).	117
37 – Photograph by the author – <i>Hotunui</i> , at Auckland War Memorial Museum (2004).	121
38 – Photograph by the author – <i>Ruatepupuke II</i> at the Field Museum, Chicago (2004).	124
39 – Photograph by the author – <i>Rauru</i> , at the Museum of Ethology, Hamburg (2006).	126
40 – Photograph by the author – <i>Hinemibi</i> , at Clandon Park, Surrey, UK (2006).	130
41 & 42 – Photographs by the author – Te Papa, Wellington (2004).	132
43 & 44 – Photographs by the author – <i>Rangitihi</i> (Above, Auckland, 2006) and <i>Te Wharepuni a Maui</i> (Below, Linden Museum Storage - Stuttgart, 2006).	138
45 & 46 – Diagrams of the parts of whare, Interior and exterior – By the author (2007).	146
47, 47a,b – Photographs by the author – Rauru (Above, Below Left, Hamburg, 2006); 47c Unknown photographer, Rauru (ca. 1901, NZ).	150
48 – Carvers at work. Photograph by W Hammond (about 1900).	154
49 – Raparapa and other comparisons. Photograph by the author – Tamatekapua (above left, 2006).	
50, 51, 52 Above right, below left, below right, reproduced from <i>The Living House</i> , by Roxana Waterson.	159
52a – Construction stages of a traditional Whare whakairo.	161
53, 54, 55 – Photographs by the author – Three pare.	166
56 & 57 – Photographs by the author – Poupou - <i>Te Wharepuni a Maui</i> , Linden Museum (left, Stuttgart, 2006) and <i>Te Whare Runanga</i> (right, Waitangi, 2007).	169
58 & 59 – Photographs by the author – Poupou.	171
60 & 61 – Anaha te Rahui's patterns.	175

62 & 63 – Photographs by the author – <i>Ruatepupuke II</i> (above, Field Museum, Chicago, 2004) and <i>Te Hau ki Turanga</i> (below, Te Papa, Wellington, 2004).	179
64 – Photograph by the author – <i>Epa</i> ( <i>Rauru</i> , 2006).	180
65 – Unknown Photographer (Christchurch Exhibition, 1906) ; 66, 67, 68 – Photographs by the author – Figures in the round.	182
69 & 70 – Photographs by the author – Kowhaiwhai - <i>Hotunui</i> , (Auckland, 2006) and (below) <i>Te Hau ki Turanga</i> , (Wellington, 2004).	184
71 – Photograph by Kathrin Marks – <i>Wero</i> ( 2006).	206
72 & 73 – George French Angas – War dance before the pah of Ohinemutu, near Rotorua Lake (1844, above). A tangi, or meeting of friends. Mount Egmont in the distance (1847, below).	210
74 – Whaikorero – Unknown photographer. Mita Taupopoki of Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao speaking on a marae.(ca. 1915).	212
75 – Hakari – Cuthbert Charles Clarke – The stage erected to contain the food at the feast given by the native chiefs. (Bay of Islands, 1849).	223



## Appendix Four:

### Some notes

More information about the Whare whakairo *Hotunui*. These are notes from the Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society and are of particular interest as they provide details about the actual opening of the house and the ritual followed. They make an interesting point of comparison with other explanations made elsewhere in this thesis and are also important as a first-hand account.

ART. V.—The Building of Hotunui, Whare Whakairo, W. H. Taipari's Carved House at Thames, 1878.

Told By MEREANA MOKOMOKO, widow of the late chief, W. H. Taipari, to Gilbert Mair, 12th July, 1897.

[Read before the Auckland Institute, 6th September, 1897.]

MY father, Apanui Hamaiwaho, chief of Ngatiawa at Whakatane, built the house Mataatua. Taipari, his father, Hotereni, and myself were invited to go to Whakatane to take away that house, but before we could go Sir Donald McLean visited Whakatane, and Ngatiawa, to show their aroha, gave him the house.

My father then said Ngatiawa would carve a house for me. This was in 1875. Accordingly the work was commenced forthwith, and in May, 1878, the posts were all finished, and about seventy Ngatiawa, under the chiefs Wepiha Apanui (my brother), Rangitukehu te Wharewera, Tiopira Hukiki, Te Putere, and Te Pirini, came to Hauraki, bringing all material. The freight and passages cost £170. The first post erected was named after Pereki Awhiowhio, chief of Ngatiwhanaunga. When an attempt was made to lift the ridge-pole it failed: then we sent for Paroto Manutawhiorangi, who uttered an incantation, or karakia, called “Tehuti o Tainui” (the raising of Tainui), and lo! the great tree was lifted up quickly and easily. Such was the power of magic as exercised by Maori priests of old. During the building a number of the Ngatiawa workmen were smitten with sudden illness, which was attributed to their having burned in a cooking-fire some chips from Apanui's chisel (whao). It was the women who inadvertently committed sacrilege, and the sickness which fell upon our people was termed a materuahine. When several persons had died, my brother Wepiha came to me at dawn of day saying, “Kua ngaro a Ngatiawa (Ngatiawa will be annihilated). Hasten you quickly to remove the spell caused by the desecration of the work of our father's chisel.” I hurried to the spot, and in the

midst of the assembly a small fire was made of chips from the carvings, and two kumara roasted therein, which were offered to me to eat. I trembled with fear, lest death should come to me also; but the old men said, “Fear not, you are equal in mana to Apanui, your father, and you alone can remove this spell which is destroying Ngatiawa.” I then ate the roasted food, and the epidemic ceased. Soon the house was completed, and Wepiha summoned a tohunga called Mohi Taikororeka from Opotiki to perform the ceremonies called “whai kawa”—i.e., making the house “noa,” removing the tapu, &c. After this was done, and the men had entered and eaten food in the house, three women (myself, Kitemate Kiritahanga, and Mere Taipari) were sent for to takahi te paepae (to tread on or cross over the threshold, and thus remove the enchantment which debar women from entering a sacred house until this ceremony is ended), for, as you know, the ridge-pole would sag down in the middle and destroy the appearance of the house were this ceremony disregarded. As the morning star (Kopu) rose, we, the three women, crossed over the threshold which Te Eaihi, of Ngatihaua, had tapa'd (called) Hape Koroki, and then the mana o te whakairo (the sacredness of the carving) was subjugated, overcome, and women generally were free to enter and eat within the house.

The several tribes of Ngatiawa who took part in the building were as follows: Ngatihokopu, Te Pahipoto, Te Patuwai, Te Patutatahi, &c.

The ridge-pole was a kahikatea (white-pine), procured at Turua. It was carved by Hotereni Taipari himself, and named after his great ancestor Hotunui. These are the generations from that ancestor:—

The length of the house is 80ft.; width, 33ft.; height, 24ft.; length of porch, 12ft.

The figures on the right-hand side of the porch are—(1) Kopuani, (2) Takuao, (3) Te Tai te Hura, (4) Takoto Titaha; inside on the right hand the large figures are as follows: (5) Te Motuituiti, (6) Te Ivvi Tuha, (7) To Putara, (8) Ngahaupaha, (9) (not named), (10) Te Apurangi, (11) Kahurautao, (12) Hape, (13) Matatahi, (14) Ngangaia, (15) Taitoi, (16) Pereki Awhiowhio, (17) Te Whero, (18) Te Umu, (19) Matau, (20) Kiwi.

On the left-hand side of the porch there are—(1) Kauahi, (2) Te Tuki, (3) Horowhenua, (4) Tauaiwi; on the left hand inside the figures are—(5) Panama, (6) (not named), (7) Rainuri, (8) Parera, (9) Ureia, (10) Eautao Pouwharekura, (11) Uetawhiti, (12) Tapane, (13) Toitoi, (14) Puhoi, (15) Putoa, (16) Kawhero, (17) Pahae, (18) Pakira, (19) Tarakai Kawhia, (20) Eiki.

The paepaewaho (threshold of porch) is called “Ruainano.” When the builders were returning to their own place they would not accept payment beyond the food and presents we had given them from time to time, but my father-in-law (Te Hotereni Taipari) felt ill at ease, saying the Ngatiraru had not sustained their ancient name for generosity; so he said to me, “My daughter, do you take this letter quickly to the Bank of New Zealand at Tauranga, and when our friends the Ngatiawa [who were returning by sea] reach that place give them the money the bank-manager will pay you.” I travelled day and night overland, and overtook the steamer at Tauranga, and I got the bag of money

from the bank, and took it to the people, saying, “Behold! I have brought you a koha (gift) from your grandparent, Hotereni Taipari.” £1,000 in single bank notes did I give them, and Ngatiawa went on their way rejoicing.

## Bibliography

"*The Story of the Modern Marae.*" *Te Ao Hou=The New World* 1952.

Alpers, Antony, and Patrick Hanly. *Maori Myths and Tribal Legends*. 2nd ed. Auckland: Longman, 1996.

Anderson, Atholl. "Faunal Collapse, Landscape Change and Settlement History in Remote Oceania." *World Archaeology* 33, no. 3, *Ancient Ecodisasters* (2002): 375-90.

———. *Prodigious Birds : Moas and Moa-Hunting in Prehistoric New Zealand*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Anderson, Atholl, and Ian Smith. "The Transient Village in Southern New Zealand." *World Archaeology* 27, no. 3, *Hunter-Gatherer Land Use* (1996): 359-71.

Angas, George French. *The New Zealanders Illustrated*. London: T. McLean, 1847.

———. *Polynesia : A Popular Description of the Physical Features, Inhabitants, Natural History and Productions of the Islands of the Pacific, with an Account of Their Discovery and of the Progress of Civilization and Christianity Amongst Them*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1886.

———. *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand : Being an Artist's Impression of Countries and People at the Antipodes*. Wellington: Reed, 1969.

Austin, Michael Robert. "A Description of the Maori Marae." p. [229]-40. Auckland: University of Auckland, School of Architecture, 1980.

———. "Polynesian Architecture in New Zealand." Thesis (PhD, Architecture) - University of Auckland, 1976.

Baltimore Museum of Art., and Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore Md.). *The World Encompassed; an Exhibition of the History of Maps Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art October 7 to November 23, 1952*. Baltimore,: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1952.

Banks, Joseph, and J. C. Beaglehole. *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks : 1768-1771*. Sydney: The Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Angus and Robertson, 1962.

Barber, Ian G. "Loss, Change, and Monumental Landscaping: Towards a New Interpretation of The "Classic" Maaori Emergence." *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (1996): 868-80.

Barlow, Cleve. *Tikanga Whakaaro = Key Concepts in Maori Culture*. Auckland, N.Z.: Oxford University Press, 1991.



Barrow, Terence. *A Guide to the Maori Meeting House, Te Hau-Ki-Turanga*. Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1965.

Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacres Et Simulation*

*Simulacra and Simulation, The Body, in Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

Beaglehole, J. C. *The Life of Captain James Cook*. London: A. and C. Black, 1974.

Belich, James. *Making Peoples : A History of the New Zealanders : From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. [London]

Auckland, N.Z.: Allen Lane ;

Penguin Press, 1996.

———. *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin, 1998.

———. *Paradise Reforged : A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*. Auckland, N.Z.: Allen Lane : Penguin Press, 2001.

Belich, James, Tainui Stephens, Colin McRae, Landmark Productions., and Television New Zealand. *The New Zealand Wars*

Nga Pakanga Nunui O Aotearoa. [Auckland, N.Z.]: Television New Zealand : Distributed by Silver & Ballard NZ Ltd., 2004.

Bell, Leonard. *The Maori in European Art : A Survey of the Representation of the Maori by European Artists from the Time of Captain Cook to the Present Day*, New Zealand Art Series. Wellington, N.Z.: Reed, 1980.

Bellwood, Peter S. *The First Farmers : The Origins of Agricultural Societies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005.

———. *The Polynesians : Prehistory of an Island People*. Rev. ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.

Bellwood, Peter S., James J. Fox, D. T. Tryon, Australian National University. Dept. of Anthropology., and Comparative Austronesian Project. *The Austronesians : Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Canberra: Dept. of Anthropology Australian National University, 1995.

Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum : History, Theory, Politics*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1995.

Best, Elsdon. *The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga*. [New Plymouth: Polynesian Society, 1906.

———. *The Maori as He Was : A Brief Account of Maori Life as It Was in Pre-European Days*. Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1934.

———. *The Maori Canoe*, Dominion Museum Bulletin ; No. 7. Wellington, N.Z.: Dominion Museum, 1925.

- . *The Maori Canoe*. Wellington, N.Z.: Te Papa Press, 2005.
- . *The Maori Genius for Personification : With Illustrations of Maori Mentality*, Royal Society of N.Z. Transactions ; V. 53, 1921. Wellington: Govt. Printer, 1921.
- . *Maori Storehouses and Kindred Structures*. Wellington [N.Z.]: Govt. Printer, 1916.
- . *The Pa Maori*. Wellington [N.Z.]: Dominion Museum, 1927.
- Best, Elsdon, and Johannes Carl Andersen. *Forest Lore of the Maori : With Methods of Snaring, Trapping, and Preserving Birds and Rats, Uses of Berries, Roots, Fern-Root, and Forest Products, with Mythological Notes on Origins, Karakia Used, Etc*. Wellington, N.Z.: E. C. Keating Govt. Printer, 1977.
- Best, Elsdon, and New Zealand. Board of Maori Ethnological Research. *Maori Agriculture : The Cultivated Food Plants of the Natives of New Zealand, with Some Account of Native Methods of Agriculture, Its Ritual and Origin Myths*. Wellington [N.Z.]: Board of Maori Ethnological Research for the Dominion Museum, 1925.
- Best, Simon, and New Zealand Archaeological Association. *Lapita : A View from the East*. Auckland, N.Z.: New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2002.
- Binney, Judith. *The Legacy of Guilt : A Life of Thomas Kendall*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2005.
- Binney, Judith, Judith Bassett, Erik Olszen, and Tim Galloway. *The People and the Land = Te Tangata Me Te Whenua : An Illustrated History of New Zealand, 1820-1920*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 1993.
- Binney, Judith, and Gillian Chaplin. *The Survivors = Nga Morehu*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press : Bridget Williams Books, 1996.
- Binney, Judith, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace. *Mihaia : The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press ; Bridget Williams Books, 1996.
- Binney, Judith, and Creative New Zealand. *Redemption Songs : A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press ; Bridget Williams Books, 1995.
- Borrie, W. D., and Australian National University. Demography Program. *The European Peopling of Australasia : A Demographic History, 1788-1988*. Canberra: Demography Program Research School of Social Sciences Australian National University, 1994.
- . *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938*. [Canberra]: Demography Program Research School of Social Sciences Australian National University, 1991.
- Brailsford, Barry. *The Tattooed Land*. 2nd ed. Hamilton, N.Z.: Stoneprint Press, 1997.
- Brake, Brian, D. R. Simmons, and James McNeish. *Art of the Pacific*. Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Brake, Brian, D. R. Simmons, and Merimeri Penfold. *Te Maori : Taonga Maori = Treasures of the Maori*. Auckland, [N.Z.]: Reed, 1994.

Brightwell, Matabi, and New Zealand. *Learning Media. Waka, Applications*. Wellington, N.Z.: Learning Media, 1994.

Brown, Deidre. "The Maori Response to Gothic Architecture." *Architectural History* 43 (2000): 253-70.

———. "Moorehu Architecture." *Thesis (PhD Architecture)*, University of Auckland, 1997.

———. *Northland Maori Wood Carving = Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rakau*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2003.

Brown, Deidre, and Brian Brake. *Introducing Maori Art*. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2005.

———. *Maori Arts of the Gods*. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2005.

Buchanan, Mark. *Ubiquity : The Science of History, or Why the World Is Simpler Than We Think*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000.

Bulmer, Ralph, and Andrew Pawley. *Man and a Half : Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer*. Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1991.

Burney, James, Beverley Hooper, and National Library of Australia. *With Captain James Cook in the Antarctic and Pacific : The Private Journal of James Burney, Second Lieutenant of the Adventure on Cook's Second Voyage, 1772-1773*. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1975.

Carter, Michael. *Framing Art : Introducing Theory and the Visual Image, Transvisual Studies*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1990.

Chauvet, Stephen. *L'île De Paques Et Ses Mysteres : La Première Etude Reunissant Tous Les Documents Connus Sur Cette Ile Mystérieuse*. Paris: Editions "Tel", 1935.

Chester, Pamela I. "Forest Clearance in the Bay of Islands." *Thesis (MA, Anthropology)*--University of Auckland, 1986.

Clausenitz, Carl von, Michael Howard, and Peter Paret. *Vom Kriege on War*. London: David Campbell, 1993.

Colenso, W. *Memoranda of an Excursion Made in the Northern Island of New Zealand in the Summer of 1841-2 : Intended as a Contribution Towards the Ascertaining of the Natural Productions of the New Zealand Groups, with Particular Reference to Their Botany*. [Hobart?: Tasmanian journal of natural science, 1845.

———. *Traditions of the Maoris W. Colenso*. New ed. Christchurch [N.Z.]: Kiri Publishers, 2001.

Collins, N. Mark, and International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. *The Last Rain Forests*. London: Mitchell Beazley in association with IUCN, 1990.

Cook, James, and J. C. Beaglehole. *The Journals : Of Captain James Cook on His Voyages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1955.

Cook, James, and R. A. Skelton. *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery Charts and Views : Drawn by Cook and His Officers and Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1955.

Couper, A. D., and Times (London). *The Times Atlas of the Oceans*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1983.

Cowan, James. *The Adventures of Kimble Bent : A Story of Wild Life in the New Zealand Bush*. London [England]: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1911.

Cranbrook, Gathorne Gathorne-Hardy, David S. Edwards, and Royal Geographical Society (Great Britain). *Belalong : A Tropical Rainforest*. 1st ed. London, U.K.

Singapore: Royal Geographical Society ;

Sun Tree Pub., 1994.

Cresswell, John C. M. *Maori Meeting Houses of the North Island*. Auckland: P.C.S. Publications, 1977.

Crook, John Hurrell. *The Evolution of Social Organisation and Visual Communication in the Weaver Birds (Ploceinae)*, *Behaviour; an International Journal of Comparative Ethology*. Supplement ; 10. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council (N.Z.), and New Zealand. Dept. of Internal Affairs. *Taonga Maori Conference, New Zealand, 18-27 November, 1990 = Te Roopu Manaakii Nga Taonga Tuku Iho*. Wellington: N.Z. Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1992.

Curnow, Allen, Abel Janszoon Tasman, J. C. Beaglehole, and New Zealand. Dept. of Internal Affairs. *Abel Janszoon Tasman & the Discovery of New Zealand*. Wellington [N.Z.]: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1942.

D'Alleva, Anne. *Art of the Pacific*, *Everyman Art Library*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998.

———. *Arts of the Pacific Islands*. New York: H.N. Abrams, 1998.

Darwin, Charles, and R. D. Keynes. *Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*

*Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Davey, Judith A., and Victoria University of Wellington. Institute of Policy Studies. *Tracking Social Change in New Zealand : From Birth to Death Iv. Wellington [N.Z.]: Institute of Policy Studies, 1998.*

Davidson, Janet M. *The Prehistory of New Zealand. [New ]. ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul, 1987.*

Diamond, Jared M. *Collapse : How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed. New York: Viking, 2005.*

———. *Guns, Germs and Steel : A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years. London: Vintage, 1998.*

Dieffenbach, Ernest. *Travels in New Zealand : With Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of That Country. London: Murray, 1843.*

Dodge, Ernest S. *Islands and Empires : Western Impact on the Pacific and East Asia, Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion ; V. 7. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976.*

Douglas, Mary. *Implicit Meanings : Essays in Anthropology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.*

———. *Rules and Meanings : The Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge : Selected Readings. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977.*

Earle, Augustus. *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827 : Together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan D'acunha, an Island Situated between South America and the Cape of Good Hope. London [England]: Printed for Longman Rees Orme Brown Green & Longman, 1832.*

Earle, Augustus, and E. H. McCormick. *Narrative of Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand, in 1827*

*Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand ; Journal of a Residence in Tristan Da Cunha. London [England]: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1966.*

Eco, Umberto. *Essays*

*the Open Work. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.*

———. *Essays*

*Travels in Hyperreality : Essays. Picador ed, Picador. London: Pan Books in association with Secker & Warburg, 1987.*

———. *A Theory of Semiotics, Advances in Semiotics. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976.*

Eco, Umberto, and Stefan Collini. *Interpretation and Overinterpretation. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.*

Elliott, John Huxtable. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716. London: Edward Arnold, 1963.*

Evans, Jeff. *Nga Waka O Nebera : The First Voyaging Canoes. Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Pub., 1997.*

- . *Waka Tāua : The Maori War Canoe*. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2000.
- Firth, Raymond William. *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. 2nd ed. Wellington [N.Z.]: Govt. Printer, 1972.
- Fischer, Steven R. *Easter Island Studies : Contributions to the History of Rapanui in Memory of William T. Mulloy*, Oxbow Monograph ; 32. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1993.
- Flannery, Tim F. *The Future Eaters : An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*. 1st Grove Press ed. New York: Grove Press, 2002.
- Forster, Johann Reinhold. *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy : Especially On :1. The Earth and Its Strata, 2. Water and the Ocean, 3. The Atmosphere, 4. The Changes of the Globe, 5. Organic Bodies, and 6. The Human Species*. London: Printed for G. Robinson, 1778.
- Forster, Johann Reinhold, and Michael Edward Hoare. *The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster, 1772-1775, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society 2nd Ser., No. 152-155*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1982.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Foucault, Michel, and Jeremy R. Carrette. *Religion and Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Foucault, Michel, and Paul Rabinow. *The Foucault Reader*. 1st . ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Fox, James J., Australian National University. Dept. of Anthropology., and Comparative Austronesian Project. *Inside Austronesian Houses : Perspectives on Domestic Designs for Living*. Canberra: Dept. of Anthropology in association with the Comparative Austronesian Project Research School of Pacific Studies Australian National University, 1993.
- Freedberg, David, Oleg Grabar, Anne Higonnet, Cecelia F. Klein, Lisa Tickner, and Anthony Vidler. "The Object of Art History." *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (1994): 394-410.
- Furey, Louise, Yvonne M. Marshall, and Doug G. Sutton. *The Archaeology of Pouerua*. Auckland; London: Auckland University Press;Eurospan, 2003.
- Gallop, Alan. *The House with the Golden Eyes : Unlocking the Secret History Of "Hinemihī" - the Maori Meeting House from Te Wairoa (New Zealand) and Clandon Park (Surrey, England)*. Middlesex, England: Running Horse Books, 1998.
- Garbutt, Eva. "Conserving the Living Object - the Conservation of Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand." Unpublished MA thesis, University College, London, 2003.
- Gauguin, Paul. *Noa Noa. South Seas* . ed. New York: Greenberg.

- George, Darryn, Deidre Brown, University of Canterbury. School of Fine Arts Gallery., and Arts Centre of Christchurch. Whare. Christchurch, N.Z.: School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury [at] the Arts Centre, 2002.
- Gilbert, George, and Christine Holmes. *Captain Cook's Final Voyage : The Journal of Midshipman George Gilbert*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1982.
- Godelier, Maurice. *Enigma Du Don*  
*the Enigma of the Gift*. [Chicago, IL]: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- González-Ruibal, Alfredo. "House Societies Vs. Kinship-Based Societies: An Archaeological Case from Iron Age Europe." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, no. 25 (2005): 144–73.
- Graves, Michael W., Roger Curtis Green, Nigel Prickett, New Zealand Archaeological Association., Pacific Science Association., and Green Foundation for Polynesian Research. *The Evolution and Organisation of Prehistoric Society in Polynesia*. [Auckland, N.Z.: New Zealand Archaeological Association], 1993.
- Green, Roger Curtis. *Adaptation and Change in Maori Culture*. Albany: Stockton House, 1977.
- Gregory, C. A. *Gifts and Commodities*. London ; New York: Academic Press, 1982.
- Grey, George, and W. W. Bird. *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the Maori as Told by Their Priests and Chiefs*. Illustrated New Zealand ed. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956.
- Hakiwai, A. T., John Terrell, Ron Dorfman, Phil Aspinall, and Field Museum of Natural History. *Ruatepupuke : A Maori Meeting House*. Chicago, Ill.: Field Museum, 1994.
- Henare, Amiria J. M. *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*. 1st Vintage Books . ed. New York: Vintage, 1989.
- . *On History*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997.
- Horridge, G.A. "A Summary of Indonesian Canoe and Prahu Ceremonies." *Indonesian Circle* 39 (1986): 3-17.
- Houghton, Philip. *People of the Great Ocean : Aspects of Human Biology of the Early Pacific*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Howe, K. R. *The Quest for Origins : Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands?* Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Howe, K. R., and Auckland War Memorial Museum (1996-). *Vaka Moana : Voyages of the Ancestors : The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006.
- Humphrey, Caroline, and Piers Vitebsky. *Sacred Architecture*. London: Duncan Baird, 2003.

*Ihimaera, Witi Tame, and Ngarino Ellis. Te Ata : Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2002.*

*Irwin, Geoffrey. "Human Colonisation and Change in the Remote Pacific." Current Anthropology 31, no. 1 (1990): 90-94.*

*James, Lawrence. Raj : The Making and Unmaking of British India. London: Little, Brown, 1997.*

———. *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire. London: Little Brown, 1994.*

*Jennings, Jesse David. The Prehistory of Polynesia. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.*

*Jones, Steve. Almost Like a Whale : The Origin of Species Updated. London: Doubleday, 1999.*

———. *In the Blood : God, Genes and Destiny. London: HarperCollins, 1996.*

*Josselin de Jong, P. E. de. Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands : A Reader. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1977.*

*Kahn, Miriam. "Heterotopic Dissonance in the Museum Representation of Pacific Island Cultures." American Anthropologist 97, no. 2 (1995): 324-38.*

*Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani. I Ka Wa O Kamehameha = in the Time of Kamehameha. Honolulu: The Folk Press Kapiolani Community College, 1988.*

———. *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961.*

———. *The Works of the People of Old = Na Hana a Ka Po'e Kahiko. [Honolulu]: Bishop Museum Press, 1976.*

*Kampen-O'Riley, Michael, and Anne D'Alleva. Art Beyond the West : The Arts of Africa, India and Southeast Asia, China, Japan and Korea, the Pacific, and the Americas. London: Laurence King, 2001.*

*Karetu, T. S. Haka : Te Tobu O Te Whenua Rangatira = the Dance of a Noble People. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1993.*

*Kelm, Antje. "Das Maori-Haus Im Museum Fur Volkerkunde Hamburg." Hamburg, 1998.*

*King, Michael. The Penguin History of New Zealand. [Rev. ]. ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 2004.*

———. *Te Ao Hurihuri : Aspects of Maoritanga. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1992.*

———. *Te Ao Hurihuri : The World Moves On : Aspects of Maoritanga. Rev. ed. Wellington: Hicks Smith/Methuen, 1977.*

———. *Te Puea : A Life. 4th ed. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2003.*

———. *Tihe Mauri Ora : Aspects of Maoritanga. [Wellington]: Methuen New Zealand, 1978.*



King, Michael, and Isla Nottingham. *A Place to Stand : A History of Turangawaenae Marae*. [Hamilton, N.Z.]: University of Waikato, 1981.

Kipling, Rudyard, and Thomas Pinney. *Rudyard Kipling : Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University press, 1990.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton. *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks : An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

———. *The Lapita Peoples : Ancestors of the Oceanic World, The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1997.

Kirch, P. V. "Monumental Architecture and Power in Polynesian Chiefdoms: A Comparison of Tonga and Hawaii." *World Archaeology* 22, no. 2, *Monuments and the Monumental* (1990): 206-22.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton. *On the Road of the Winds : An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2000.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton, and Roger Curtis Green. *Hawaiki , Ancestral Polynesia : An Essay in Historical Anthropology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton, and Marshall David Sablins. *Anahulu : The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton, and D. E. Yen. *Tikopia : The Prehistory and Ecology of a Polynesian Outlier*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1982.

Kolb, Michael J., Ross Cordy, Timothy Earle, Gary Feinman, Michael W. Graves, Christine A. Hastorf, Ian Hodder, John N. Miksic, Barbara J. Price, Bruce G. Trigger, and Valerio Valeri. "Monumentality and the Rise of Religious Authority in Precontact Hawai'i and Comments and Reply." *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 5 (1994): 521-47.

Langdon, Robert. "Caucasian Maoris: 16th-Century Spaniards in New Zealand." *American Anthropologist* 93, no. 2 (1991): 440-44.

Lepofsky, Dana. "Gardens of Eden? An Ethnohistoric Reconstruction of Maohi (Tabitian) Cultivation." *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 1 (1999): 1-29.

Lepofsky, Dana Sue. *Prehistoric Agricultural Intensification in the Society Islands, French Polynesia*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: U.M.I.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Totemism*, Pelican Books a 1033. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969.

———. *Voie Des Masques; the Way of the Masks*. London: Cape, 1983.

Livermore, H. V. *A New History of Portugal*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P, 1966.

Lucatt, Edward, and Tabiti Merchant long resident at. *Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1949 : With a Glance at California*. New York: AMS Press, 1979.

MacLeod, Roy M., and Philip F. Rehbock. *Darwin's Laboratory : Evolutionary Theory and Natural History in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

Maning, Frederick Edward. *Old New Zealand : Being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times*. London: Smith Elder, 1863.

Maning, Frederick Edward, and Frederick Edward Maning. *Old New Zealand : A Tale of the Good Old Times; and, a History of the War in the North, Told by an Old Chief of the Ngapuhi Tribe*. Viking . ed, New Zealand Classics. Auckland, N.Z.: Viking, 1987.

Marques, A. H. de Oliveira. *History of Portugal*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

Marshall, Yvonne M. "Antiquity, Form and Function of Terracing at Pouerua Pa : A Thesis Presented to the University of Auckland ... In Anthropology." Thesis (MA, Anthropology)--University of Auckland, 1987., 1987.

Mascarin (Ship), M. J. Marion du Fresne, Isabel Ollivier, Jeremy Spencer, Marquis de Castries (Ship), Alexander Turnbull Library. Endowment Trust., and Indosuez New Zealand Ltd. *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand in May-July 1772 of the French Ships Mascarin and Marquis De Castries under the Command of M.-J. Marion Du Fresne, Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life ; 2*. Wellington, N.Z.: Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust : Indosuez New Zealand Ltd., 1985.

Matisoo-Smith, Elizabeth. *Genetic Variation in Polynesia : Implications for Polynesian Prehistory*, 1990.

Mauss, Marcel. *Essai Sur Le Don = the Gift : The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1990.

———. *The Gift : Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Cohen & West, 1970.

McCarthy, Conal. *Exhibiting Maori : A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*. Wellington, N.Z.: Te Papa Press, 2007.

McClymont, W. G. *The Exploration of New Zealand*. Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940.

McManus, Greg Walker. *Nga Whare Taonga Me Te Tangata Whenua O Aotearoa = Museums and the Maori People of New Zealand : Thesis Submitted to the University of Leicester in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts*, 1988, 1988.

McNaughton, Howard. (*Special Focus: Theatre in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia*) 26, no. 1 (2001): 25(10).

- Mead, Sidney M. *The Art of Maori Carving = Te Toi Whakairo*. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1995.
- . *Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania : Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979.
- . *Tikanga Maori : Living by Maori Values*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2003.
- Mead, Sidney M., and Bernie Kernot. *Art and Artists of Oceania*. Palmerston North, N.Z. Mill Valley, Calif: Dunmore ; Ethnographic Arts Publications, 1983.
- Mead, Sidney M., and Athol McCredie. *Te Maori : Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. Rev ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Heinemann in association with the American Federation of Arts, 1985.
- Mead, Sidney M., Roopu Kohikohi Korero o Ngati Ava., and Ngati Ava. *Te Runanga. Nga Karoretanga O Mataatua Whare = the Wanderings of the Carved House, Mataatua. Whakatane* [N.Z.]: Te Runanga o Ngati Ava, 1990.
- Metge, Joan. *The Maoris of New Zealand*. London,: Routledge & K. Paul, 1967.
- . *New Growth from Old : The Whanau in the Modern World*. Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 1995.
- Metge, Joan, and Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia. Diocese of Christchurch. Bicultural Education Committee. *Tui Tui Tuia : The Use of Maori in Worship in Te Tikanga Pakeha*. Christchurch [N.Z.]: Bicultural Education Committee Diocese of Christchurch, 2005.
- Miller, Henry. *Tropic of Capricorn*. London: Calder, 1964.
- Natusch, Sheila. *The Cruise of the Acheron : Her Majesty's Steam Vessel on Survey in New Zealand Waters, 1848-51*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Whitcoulls, 1978.
- Neich, Roger. *Carved Histories : Rotorua Ngati Taranwhai Woodcarving*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2001.
- . *Painted Histories : Early Maori Figurative Painting*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1993.
- Nelson, Anne. *Maori Canoes = Nga Waka Maori*. Wellington, N.Z.: IPL Books, 1998.
- New Zealand Historical Association., and New Zealand. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. [Wellington]: New Zealand Historical Association, 2002.
- New Zealand. Law Commission. *Maori Custom and Values in New Zealand Law*. Wellington, N.Z.: Law Commission, 2001.

- Nicholas, John Liddiard. *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand Performed in the Years 1814 and 1815, in Company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain of New South Wales*. London [England]: Printed for James Black and Son, 1817.
- Nicholson, Bronwen, Paul Gauguin, Roger Neich, and Auckland City Art Gallery. *Gauguin and Maori Art*. Auckland, N.Z.: Published in association with the Auckland City Art Gallery Godwit, 1995.
- Orchiston, Wayne, and Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre. *Maori Water Craft Observed on the East Coast During Cook's Voyages*. Gisborne, N.Z.: Gisborne Museum & Arts Centre, 1991.
- Osborne, Roger, M. J. Benton, and Stephen Jay Gould. *The Viking Atlas of Evolution*. London: Viking, 1996.
- Papakura, Makereti, and T. K. Penniman. *The Old-Time Maori*. London: Gollancz, 1938.
- Parkinson, Sydney, William Kenrick, and Stanfield Parkinson. *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, the Endeavour. Faithfully Transcribed from the Papers of the Late Sydney Parkinson Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. On His Late Expedition, with Dr Solander, Round the World*. London: Stanfield Parkinson, 1773.
- Peabody Museum of Salem., and Ernest S. Dodge. *The New Zealand Maori Collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem*. Salem, [Mass.]: Peabody Museum, 1941.
- Phillipps, W. J., and D. R. Simmons. *Maori Carving Illustrated*. 4th (rev.). ed. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1997.
- Polack, J. S. *New Zealand : Being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures During a Residence in That Country between the Years 1831 and 1837*. London: R. Bentley, 1838.
- Polynesian Society (N.Z.), and Polynesian Society. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Vol. Began in 1892. Auckland, N.Z.: The Society.
- Porter, Frances, and New Zealand Historic Places Trust. *Historic Buildings of New Zealand*. [New ]. ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Methuen, 1983.
- Prather, Marla, and Charles F. Stuckey. *Gauguin : A Retrospective*. Sydney: Bay Books, 1987.
- Prather, Marla and Charles F Stuckey. *Paul Gauguin*. Cologne: Konemann, 1994.
- Prickett, Nigel. "Houses and House Life in Prehistoric New Zealand." Thesis (MA, Anthropology)--University of Auckland, 1974., 1974.
- Prickett, Nigel, and Auckland Institute and Museum. *Maori Origins : From Asia to Aotearoa*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman in association with Auckland Museum, 2001.
- Prytz-Johansen, J. *The Maori and His Religion : In Its Non-Ritualistic Aspects : With a Danish Summary*. Kobenhavn: I kommission hos E. Munksgaard, 1954.

- Rice, Geoffrey W. *The Oxford History of New Zealand*. 2nd ed. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Robb, Loren, and Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. *Kawa Marae : A Detailed Guide to Marae Visits*. [Wellington, N.Z.]: Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, 1992.
- Robins, E. Matisoo-Smith and J. H. "Patterns of Prehistoric Human Mobility in Polynesia Indicated by Mtdna from the Pacific Rat." *PNAS*, no. 101 (2004): 9167-72.
- Royal Society of New Zealand. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*. Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., 1935.
- Rubel, Paula G., and Abraham Rosman. "Potlatch and Hakari: An Analysis of Maori Society in Terms of the Potlatch Model." *Man* 6, no. 4 (1971): 13.
- Sahlins, Marshall. "Other Times, Other Customs: The Anthropology of History." *American Anthropologist* 85, no. 3 (1983): 517-44.
- Salmond, Anne. *Between Worlds : Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815*. Auckland: Viking, 1997.
- . *Hui : A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*. Wellington [N.Z.]: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1975.
- . *Two Worlds : First Meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772*. [Pbk. ]. ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Viking, 1993.
- Savage, John. *Some Account of New Zealand*. London: J. Murray, 1807.
- Scammell, Geoffrey Vaughn. *The World Encompassed : The First European Maritime Empires C.800-1650*. London: Methuen, 1981.
- Schefold, Reimar. "The Efficacious Symbol." In *Symbolic Anthropology in the Netherlands*, edited by E.Schwimmer & P.E. de Josselin de Jong. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982.
- . *Versuch Einer Stilanalyse Der Aufhangehaken Vom Mittleren Sepik in Neu-Guinea*, Basler Beiträge Zur Ethnologie ; Bd. 4. Basel [Switzerland]: Pharos-Verlag, 1966.
- Schefold, Reimar, P. Nas, and Gaudenz Domenig. *Indonesian Houses*, Leiden Series on Indonesian Architecture. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004.
- Schrift, Alan D. *The Logic of the Gift : Toward an Ethic of Generosity*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Shaw, Peter, and Robin Morrison. *New Zealand Architecture : From Polynesian Beginnings to 1990*. Auckland, N.Z.: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991.
- Simmons, D. R. *The Carved Pare : A Maori Mirror of the Universe*. Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers, 2001.

- . *The Great New Zealand Myth : A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori*. Christchurch [N.Z.]: Cadsonbury Publications, 2004.
- . *The Maori Meeting House = Te Whare Runanga*. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1997.
- . *Meeting-Houses of Ngati Porou O Te Tai Rawhiti : An Illustrated Guide*. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2006.
- . *Ta Moko : The Art of Maori Tattoo*. Auckland, [N.Z.]: Reed Methuen, 1986.
- . *Whakairo : Maori Tribal Art*. Auckland, N.Z. ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Simmons, D. R., and Auckland Institute and Museum. *Catalogue of Maori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland Institute and Museum, 1982.
- Simmons, D. R., and Betty Brookes. *Auckland War Memorial Museum Guide Folder to Hotunui, Carved Meeting House of the Ngati Maru Tribes of Thames*. [Ak.: Auckland Institute and Museum, 1971.
- Sinclair, Keith. *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*. 2nd ed. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Skinner, Damian. "Another Modernism : Maoritanga and Maori Modernism in the 20th Century." Thesis (PhD, Art History)--Victoria University of Wellington, 2005.
- St. Jean Baptiste (Ship), Jean-Francois-Marie de Surville, Isabel Ollivier, Cheryl Hingley, Alexander Turnbull Library. Endowment Trust., and National Library of New Zealand. *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769, under the Command of J.F.M. De Surville, Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life ; 1*. Wellington, N.Z.: Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust : National Library of New Zealand, 1982.
- Stafford, Don. *Te Arawa : A History of the Arawa People*. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 1967.
- Stafford, Don, and New Zealand Forestry Corporation. *Tangata Whenua : The World of the Maori*. Auckland (N.Z.): Reed, 1996.
- Sutton, Doug G. *The Archaeology of the Kainga : A Study of Precontact Maori Undefended Settlements at Pouerua, Northland, New Zealand*. 2nd ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1994.
- Sutton, Douglas G. "Organisation and Ontology: The Origins of the Northern Maori Chieftdom, New Zealand." *Man* 25, no. 4 (1990): 667-92.
- Tapsell, Paul. "Taonga : A Tribal Response to Museums." Thesis (PhD), University of Oxford, 1998., 1998.
- Tapsell, Paul, Krzysztof Pfeiffer, and R. D. Crosby. *Maori Treasures of New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: David Bateman, 2006.

Tarle, Evgeni i Viktorovich. *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia, 1812*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1943.

Taylor, N. M. *Early Travellers in New Zealand*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

Taylor, Richard. *Te Ika a Maui, or, New Zealand and Its Inhabitants : Illustrating the Origin, Manners, Customs, Mythology, Religion, Rites, Songs, Proverbs, Fables, and Language of the Natives : Together with the Geology, Natural History, Productions, and Climate of the Country, Its State as Regards Christianity, Sketches of the Principal Chiefs, and Their Present Position : With a Map and Numerous Illustrations*. London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855.

Thiercelin, Louis, and Christiane Mortelier. *Journal D'un Baleinier*

*Travels in Oceania : Memoirs of a Whaling Ship's Doctor*. Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 1995.

Thomas, Nicholas. *Cook : The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook*. New York: Walker & Company, 2003.

———. *Discoveries : The Voyages of Captain Cook*. London: Penguin, 2004.

———. *Entangled Objects : Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

———. *Oceanic Art, World of Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Tilburg, Jo Anne Van, and Georgia Lee. "Symbolic Stratigraphy: Rock Art and the Monolithic Statues of Easter Island." *World Archaeology* 19, no. 2, *Rock Art* (1987): 133-49.

Tischner, Herbert, and Hamburg. *Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte*. Rauru; Ein Versammlungsbaus Von Neuseeland in Der Alten Kultur Der Maori, Wegweiser Zur Völkerkunde, Heft 11. Hamburg,: Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte im Selbstverlag, 1971.

Trollope, Anthony. *Australia and New Zealand*. 2nd ed. London: Chapman and Hall, 1873.

Tudge, Colin. *The Variety of Life : A Survey and a Celebration of All the Creatures That Have Ever Lived*. London ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Turner, Victor Witter. *The Ritual Process : Structure and Anti-Structure*, Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures ; 1966. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1969.

Turner, Victor Witter, and Edward M. Bruner. *The Anthropology of Experience*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Twain, Mark. *Following the Equator & Anti-Imperialist Essays*. Edited by Mark Twain, Works. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Van Creveld, Martin L. *The Art of War : War and Military Thought*. London: Cassell, 2000.

Vitebsky, Piers. *Dialogues with the Dead : The Discussion of Mortality among the Sora of Eastern India*, *Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology* ; 88. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Wade, William Richard. *A Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand : Interspersed with Various Information Relative to the Country and People*. Hobart Town: George Rolwegan, 1842.

Walker, Paul. "The 'Maori House' at the Canterbury Museum." In *ACCESSORY/ Architecture*. Auckland University, 1995.

Walker, Ranginui. *Ka Whāwhāi Tonu Matou = Struggle without End*. Rev. ed. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin, 2004.

———. *Nga Pepa a Ranginui = the Walker Papers*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 1996.

Wanderer. *Antipodean Notes : Collected on a Nine Months Tour Round the World*. London: Sampson Low Marston Searle & Rivington, 1888.

Watanabe, Yasutada. *Shinto Art : Ise and Izumo Shrines*, *Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art* ; V. 3. N.Y.: Weatherhill, 1974.

Waterson, Roxana. *The Living House : An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

White, M. E. *After the Greening : The Browning of Australia*. Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1994.

Whitmore, T. C. *An Introduction to Tropical Rain Forests*. Oxford, England

New York: Clarendon Press ;

Oxford University Press, 1990.

Williams, Herbert W., and New Zealand. *Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Maori Language. A Dictionary in the Maori Language*. 7th / ed. Wellington [N.Z.]: GP Books, 1985.

———. *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. 7th. / ed. Wellington, N.Z.: Legislation Direct, 2000.

Yate, William. *An Account of New Zealand and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island*. 2nd ed. London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835.

Zeilinga de Boer, Jelle, and Donald Theodore Sanders. *Volcanoes in Human History : The Far-Reaching Effects of Major Eruptions*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.